लुड्विक स्टर्नबाख
अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ

LUDWIK STERNBACH
FELICITATION VOLUME

PART TWO



Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad
Lucknow (INDIA)

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Publishers' Note

One of the aims and objects of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (India) is to honour and felicitate eminent scholars of Sanskrit and Indology. It is just to provide inspiration to the new generation, which may remain devoted to the high ideals of Indian culture. The Parishad has already brought out felicitation Volumes in honour of the late M. M. Dr. Gopi Nath Kaviraja and the late Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer in 1967 and 1976 respectively. Now the Parishad feels proud of presenting a Felicitation Volume to honour Prof. Ludwik Sternbach on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Prof. Sternbach is an erudite scholar of Sanskrit. He has produced a number of works covering the vast field of Sanskrit learning, particularly literature and Dharmaśāstra. His contribution to the study of Sanskrit anthologies is remarkable, for which he has rightly been christened as Subhāṣitavidvān by Dr. R. N. Dandekar of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Parishad feels honoured in felicitating Prof. Sternbach, who is also one of its Distinguished Members. The Parishad is grateful to him for providing it with this opportunity.

With our keenness to present this Volume to the great scholar, we have been confronted with a number of limitations, but it was with the cooperation and active help of our well-wishers that we could overcome all of them.

This Volume ought to have been out long back but due to various unforseen reasons it has been unduly delayed.

The Parishad is grateful to the eminent scholars who have helped in the collection and edition of the articles contained in the Volume. It is extremely grateful to its Editor, Dr. J. P. Sinha, who had to work hard for

bringing it out in this form. It was only with the inspiration and encouragement the Parishad received from its former President the late Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer; its President, Sri B. D. Sanwal; Director of Research, Dr. S. V. Singh; its Distinguished Members, Sri Radha Krishna and Dr. J. D. Shukla and Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Govt. of India that the publication of the Volume could have been possible. The Parishad is grateful to all of them.

The Parishad puts on record its sense of gratitude to the Ministry of Education and Culture, Govt. of India and the Deptts. of Education and Cultural Affairs, Government of Uttar Pradesh for financial assistance rendered in this connection.

I shall be failing in my duty if I conclude without thanking Mr. Vishwa Mohan, Proprietor and Shri Durga Prasad Mishra, Foreman of the Pnar Mudrak but for whose cooperation the printing of the Volume could not have been possible.

Gopal Chandra Sinha
Secretary

Editor's Note

Vidvān sarvatra pūjyate is an age old saying. True to this saying, Prof. Ludwik Sternbach commands universal respect among scholars. He is admired for his deep scholarship and loved for his gentlemanliness. By his numerous writings covering a vast field by Indology Prof. Sternbach has created a distinguished place for himself in the long tradition of Sanskritists of the West. The profundity of his scholarship has won for him the Honoris Causa degree of Vidyāvācaspati from the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi and K. S. Sanskrit University, Darbhanga (Bihar) recently, although much after the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow had conferred on him its Hony. Fellowship and had decided to felicitate this great savant of Sanskrit and Indology on the occasion of his 70th birthday in Dec., 1979. This decision was taken at the instance of the late Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, the then President of the Parishad.

The project was started in the beginning of 1979. It was gratifying to note the encouraging response from the scholars all over the world who were almost unanimous that the proposed Volume was well-deserved by the scholar whom it ventured to felicitate. The articles started pouring in from the middle of 1979 but due to circumstances beyond our control the printing was considerably delayed and for this I beg to offer my sincere apologies to the contributors to the Volume. I also owe an apology to Prof. W. Morgenroth of Berlin (D. D. R.) and Prof. E. R. Sree Krishna Sharma of S. V. University, Tirupati, whose articles could not be included as they were lost in transit. I am sure that these two articles from the pen of such eminent scholars of international repute would have further enriched the Volume.

The present Volume is divided into nine Sections. The articles are arranged in the alphabetical order of the surnames of their authors in each Section

but those received behind the schedule have been included in the Addenda under the respective Sections. A Supplement to the Bibliography of the works of Prof. Sternbach is also included therein. A brief biodata of the contributors is appended to the Volume which is being brought out in two parts to make it more handy. Part One consists of five Sections and Part Two contains the remaining five Sections, Addenda, Our Contributors, Indices and Corrigenda.

I am extremely indebted to the learned members of the Advisory Editorial Board, but for whose ungrudging help, able guidance and mature advice it would not have been possible for me to undertake and fulfil the onerous task of editing this large Volume felicitating the great scholar. I would crave the indulgence of the readers and contributors for all the failings and shortcomings, which I own personally and with all the modesty at my command. I thank Shri Gopal Chandra Sinha, Secretary of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow for the help he unhesitatingly rendered to me in the preparation of this Volume. My sincere thanks are also due to Shri Narendra Pratap Srivastava for preparing its Indices and Corrigenda.

The project was initiated by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, encouraged by Prof. V. Raghavan and appreciated by Prof. C. Hooykaas. None of them is in this world to see the Volume in its present form. I bow to them all in reverence.

J. P. Sinha

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SECTION VI

History and Culture

THE SON OF KUJULA KATPHIŚA

H. W. Bailey

A new Kharoṣṭhī inscription which I am editing was placed in a *stūpa* monument by Senavarma, King of Oḍi (that is likely to be the later name Oḍḍiyāna). Among his titles is the Iranian *ṇavhapati* (*vh* is for -f-) 'chief of a people'. The *nāfa-* is familiar in Iranian as in Sogdian for both 'family' and 'people' and the title has always been remembered in the Armenian loan-word *nahapet* 'prince' and 'patriarch'.

The text contains the reference *mahārāja rāyātirāya kuyula kataphśa-putra sadaṣkaṇo devaputra* 'the son Sadaṣkaṇa of Kuyula Kataphśa, the devaputra'. This is a high princely title 'son of a Deva' like the title of the Chinese Emperor and Kushan rulers.

It is greatly to be hoped that coins of this King Senavarma may be found. A secure date for this inscription would be of some help in deciding the period of the Emperor Kaniṣka, who followed Kujula after two further Kushan kings.

TAKṢAŚILĀ (TAXILA)*

C. D. Chatterjee

TAKṢAŚILĀ, THE GATEWAY OF INDIA

Taxila, the ancient Takṣaśilā, was one of the principal cities in Ancient India, the ruins of which now cover an extensive area near the Taxila Junc. Railway Station, 14 miles west of Rawalpindi, in Pakistan. It has a long and chequered history, spread over a millennium. Since, being the political headquarters of Eastern Gandhāra, it had witnessed the rise and fall of many dynasties and many foreign invasions from the West. While it had played an important role in the political history of Ancient India, its importance in the economic history of the same period cannot be under-estimated. It came to acquire a distinct place in the sphere of trade and commerce, as it was situated on the longest highway, connecting the sea-port of Tāmralipti (Tamluk, West-Bengal) with certain Aryan settlements in Central Asia, like Godāna (Khotan), Agnideśa (Kalashahr), Turaparṇī (Turfan), Caḍota (Niya), and Cokhuka (Yarkhand)[1]. That the Aryans had succeeded in building up their colonies in that region, even before the fifth century B. C., despite the political unrest and insecurity caused by the unceasing movements of the nomadic tribes of Turkish and Mongoloid origin, and frequent clashes between them, has

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* Due to lack of space only a part of the article is published here. The rest of it will appear in the next issue of the *Ṛtam*—Editor.

1. The ancient city of Tāmralipti (Tamalitti in Pali) was situated near the mouth of the Ganges, near its confluence with the River Rupanarayan. It has been correctly identified with a small town named Tamluk, in the Midnapore District, West Bengal, which has now become an important archaeological site. It was an important sea-port for all ships sailing to Ceylon or to South-East Asia. It was by this route that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien went to Ceylon towards the end of the fourth century A. D. That Tāmralipti was connected with Gayā and Uruvilva-grāma (Bodh Gayā) by a trunk road which extended upto Takṣaśilā and even beyond in the West, during the sixth century B. C., has been suggested by the story of the two caravan merchants as given in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, i. p. 4).

been definitely proved by the migration and settlement of a large number of Śākya tribesmen, together with their families and followers, in Russian Turkistan, in c. 482 B.C., as evidenced by an authoritative Chinese record[1]. Since that trunk road passed through many important towns and cities in Northern India, Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan, it was used as a trade-route by the caravan merchants, carrying their marketable commodities, with the help of bullock-carts, sometimes even five hundred in number and camels, strongly protected by armed men in their service[2]. Being situated on such an important highway, linking it with an important sea-port, Taxila became an emporium and a great centre of trade. But the commercial importance of that city was due to other reasons as well. One of them was that pearls and precious stones collected by Indian merchants in Ceylon, were carried by them to Taxila and other cities through Tāmraliptī; while woollen goods passed through Taxila in large quantities for sale all over Northern India, through different channels, for distribution in different centres of trade. The other reason is that Taxila was the loading and unloading centre for the merchandise, since bullock-carts were unserviceable beyond the Indus, because of arid lands and mountain passes. It had, therefore, to be carried on the back of a large number of camels, proceeding to other business centres in the West, in caravans. Likewise, all commodities were carried to the market-towns in the Indus and the Ganges valley, by means of bullock-carts. All these had added to the importance of Taxila as a business centre; and the participants in its commercial activities, constituted a heterogenous business community, similar to that of Babylon (Bāberush) and Persepolis, comprised of the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks and the Jews. Taxila was also noted for its trade in slaves, both young men and women of Persian and Jewish origin, and presumably the Jews played a prominent part in it, as suggested by some Biblical references, contained in the *Old Testament.* The armed sentries who at night guarded the bed-rooms of the Mauryan palace at Pāṭaliputra (Sugāṅga Palace), and the armed body-guards of the Mauryan emperor, who graced the royal court and accompanied him in his annual hunting excursions (*mṛgayā*), were young women of foreign nationalities, possibly of Persian or Jewish origin, who were imported for the aforesaid purposes and sold with much profit. There are reasons to believe that those young women were purchased from their parents and brought to this country by the slave-traders of Taxila[3]. Horses of good

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1. Beal, S., *Buddhist Records*, ii. pp. 21 and 290; Watters, T., *Yuan Chwang*, ii. pp. 8-9 and 275.
2. *Dīgha-nikāya*. ii. pp. 130-132 (P. T. S.); Rhys Davids *Buddhist India*, p. 98; *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 866.
3. Megasthenes, *Indika*, Fragment xxvii; Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 129-130 (4th Ed.) In the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa, King Duṣyanta has been described as going out for hunting, attended by armed Greek Women (Yavanī). The poet's information about such Amazonian body-guards, is partly correct, since the slave-traders of the western countries generally imported young

breed were also imported from Afghanistan, Persia and other Western countries to Taxila and, as it appears, there was a great demand for them in this country[1]. It is an undeniable fact that much of the importance of that city, as the commercial centre for export and import, was due to the Jews, about whose migration and settlement in that important *entrepôt*, in North-Western India, some light has been thrown by the Taxila Aramaic inscription.

In course of his excavations at Taxila, Sir John Marhall discovered the existence of three cities, one built after another, at different places, which are, however, not very far from one another. One interesting fact about them is that they had grown bigger and bigger in area, as needed by the growth of population, comprised of heterogenous elements. The three cities which were built at different periods and at different places, though not very far from another, may be mentioned in the following chronological order, as indicated by archaeological evidence :

(1) Bhir Mound,
c. 7th.—2nd. cent. B. C.;
(2) Sirkap,
c. 1st. cent. B. C.—1st. cent. A. D.;
(3) Sirsukh,
c. 2nd.—middle of the 5th. cent. A. D.

It is not possible to ascertain the period, when the city of Taxila was founded at the site of the Bhir Mound, representing the first city, or the exact name of the king who founded it. That the city was in a flourishing condition long before the birth of the Buddha (B. C. 563), is beyond cavil. We have reasons to believe that the third city of Taxila, now represented by the ruins at Sirsukh, was abandoned at the time of the first Hūṇa invasion (c. 455 A. D.) which may be considered to be almost synchronous with the accession of Emperor Skandagupta. Since the aforesaid inscription is in Aramaic language and written in Aramaic script, with a sprinkling of square Hebrew characters, its association with the history of the Bhir Mound, the first city of Taxila, during the third century B. C., is undeniable.

From what has been stated above, it will be seen that Taxila justly deserves to be called 'the Gateway of India'. Contemporaneous with it, there were three other gateways of which two were on the western side of the Deccan and one, in southern part of

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women of Persian and Jewish nationalities, for supplying them to the harems of Indian kings and nobles. Some of those rulers, like Candragupta, might have employed them as body-guards, as noticed by Kālidāsa.

1. Megasthenes, *Indika*, Fragment xxxv.

Bengal, but all of them were sea-ports. The two situated on the coast of the Arabian Sea, were Śūrpāraka (Sopara) and Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), while the third one of which the ancient name was Tāmralipti, has been located near Tamluk (Dist. Midnapore, West Bengal), on the bank of the River Rupnarayan. It was, in fact, a river-port, but not very far from the Bay of Bengal. It was from this port that the merchants used to sail for Ceylon, Burma, and South-East Asia. There were few more sea-ports in the Deccan, during the same period, but none of them could rank with the three mentioned above. We should now try to ascertain the different names by which the city of Taxila has been referred to in literature and epigraphy, in different periods of its history. The reasons of its having so many names, as we believe, were due to its high antiquity and celebrity as a centre of trade and commerce in Ancient India.

II

DIVERSITY OF THE NAMES OF TAKṢASILĀ

An interesting fact about the city of Taxila is the diversity of its names. This is obviously because of its pre-eminence, not only in the political but also in the economic history of Ancient India, till the appearance of the Epthalites or White Huns in North-West India. Varied forms of the name of that city are to be found in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Greek, Aramaic, and Chinese, either in literature or in epigraphy, and sometimes in both; but they do not create any confusion, as those in the language mentioned last. It is, therefore, necessary to deal with those problematic names first and those occurring in other languages afterwards.

The first Chinese pilgrim who came to India was Fa-hien. No positive chronological evidence is available, pointing to the date of his arrival in Taxila, but an approximate computation sugggests that he came to Pāṭaliputra, when the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (c. 375-414 A. D.) was on the throne. In his work, entitled *Fo-kwo-ki*, he has recorded a curious piece of tradition relating to Taxila which deserves a careful consideration. The second Chinese pilgrim who also visited Taxila and recorded certain facts about that city in his famous work, the *Si-yu-ki*, was Yuan-chwang (Hsüan-chwang). He came to India during the reign of Emperor Harṣavardhana (A. D. 606-c. 647) and the entire period of his stay in this country, was covered by the reign of that monarch. Though not pilgrims, like the two mentioned above, two more Chinese scholars have also recorded certain interesting facts about the name of that city. We have stated below, all the Chinese forms of the name of that city and their respective meanings.

(*i*) Chu-cha-shi-lo. It corresponds to Sanskrit 'Takṣaśira' and means 'cut-off head'. Obviously, it cannot be taken to be the correct Chinese form of the name Takṣaśilā in Sanskrit. According to Fa-hien, one of the Bodhisattvas made a gift of

his head at the place where the city was built later. Presumably, the story was narrated to him by the Buddhist monks of the Sarvāstivāda school, when he visited that city.

(*ii*) Ta-cha-shi-lo. The name has been mentioned several times in the work, (*Si-yu-ki*), of Yuan-chwang. We may consider it to be the nearest Chinese equivalent to the form Takṣaśilā in Sanskrit. Since the Sanskrit and the Chinese forms of the name of Taxila, are phonetically equivalent, they may be translated as 'chiselled rock'. As Yuan-chwang was a Sanskritist himself, he had no difficulty in ascertaining the correct meaning of the compound *takṣaśilā*.

(*iii*) Sio-shih. An interesting fact about the Chinese representation of an Indian name is that sometimes an attempt is made to reproduce it, through its phonetic equivalent in that language, and at other times, through its sense, as far correctly as possible. This dual method of representation is specially to be noticed in the itineraries of Fa-hien and Yuan-chwang. The two phonetic equivalents of the Sanskrit form Takṣaśilā, as mentioned above, are typical illustrations of the first method. For the second method, numerous examples may be cited from the aforesaid works of the Chinese pilgrims. The name Sio-shih is also a case to the point. It may be translated into English as 'Severed Rock' which is also the correct rendering of the name Takṣaśilā in Sanskrit. It appears, therefore, that whenever a Chinese writer finds it difficult to reproduce an Indian name phonetically in his own language, he resorts to the second method which obviously he finds easier. Names like Sio-shih for Takṣaśilā, or Ho-lo-she-pu-lo for Rājapur, are typical examples of the latter method. Occasionally, however, mistakes are made by the Chinese writers in the interpretations of Indian names, as, for instance, Fa-hien mistook *si-lo* to be *śira*, as mentioned above.

(*iv*) Ts'o-shih. It is another Chinese name for the city of Takṣaśilā and means 'Chiselled Rock'. Apparently, the name has been formed on the basis of the second method, referred to above. Thus, while the phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit form, Takṣaśilā, in Chinese, is Ta-cha-si-lo, in sense it takes the form of Ts'o-shih. Like the former, *i.e.* Sio-shih, Ta'o-shih is also another Chinese name of that famous city. There is, however, a difference between the two. Thus, while the former simply means 'Severed Rock', the latter signifies 'Chiselled Rock' and implies 'the rock-cut cave of the Takkas'. It is, indeed, strange that, while the latter has been formed on the etymological meaning of the Sanskrit form Takṣaśilā, its implication owes its origin to the Pali form Takkasilā, (Takkas' Rock). It may be noted here that the Pali form Takkasilā cannot be considered to be the phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit Takṣaśilā, since in Pali the phonetic equivalent of *takṣa* is *taccha*[1].

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1. Beal, S., *Buddhist Records*, i. p. xxxii; Watters, T., *Yuan Chwang*, i. p. 241.
There being a number of instances in the *Fo-kwo-ki* and the *Si-yu-ki*, it is evident that their

We have mentioned above the different Chinese names of the ancient city of Takṣaśilā, as recorded in literature. We have also stated above the different methods of their formation which may be considered a speciality, so far as the Chinese language is concerned. We shall now mention the other ancient names of that city as available from indigenous and foreign (non-Chinese) sources. It should be borne in mind that the variety of the names of the ancient city of Takṣaśilā had obviously their origin, because of its being an international emporium in Ancient India.

It remains now for us to mention the different names of Takṣaśilā, as are to be found in Indian, Greeks and Aramaic records. Its earliest name in Sanskrit was Takṣaśilā, as we find in the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini[1]. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the city was so called, because it was founded by Takṣa, son of Bharata. The Greek, Pali, and Prakrit forms of the name of that city are Taxila, Takkasilā, and Takhasilā respectively. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, an important Buddhist Sanskrit Text, the earliest name of the city was Bhadraśilā which was later transformed into Takṣaśilā. It was popularly called Nāggārūdā by the Aramaic-speaking people in the East and, we believe, that by the same name that far-famed centre of trade was also known to their countrymen in the West, because of the brisk commercial intercourse in which they were involved[2].

But perhaps the most interesting information relating to the name of Taxila has been supplied by the Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription (year 134), discovered in the ruins of Buddhist Sanctuary at Sirkap[3]. The inscription which is both commemorative and dedicatory in character, refers to the deposit of the bone-relics of "the Blessed One"

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authors were more at home with the translated forms of the Indian names in Chinese, rather than with their phonetic equivalents in that language.

1. IV.iii.93.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Uttara-kāṇḍa*), chaps. 114 and 201; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 327; *Vinaya-piṭaka*, i (*Mahāvagga*), ed. H. Oldenberg, p. 269. The city has been found mentioned in some other canonical Pali texts as well, but invariably as 'Takkasilā'. So far as we know, its inscriptional Prakrit form is 'Takhasilā'. It occurs for the first time, in the Kaliṅga Separate Edict, No. I of Aśoka and later, in the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros (Rapson, E. J., *Ancient India*, p. 157). In the latter, the name of the city has been read as 'Takhkhasilā' (*Takhkhasilā-kena*, in line 3) and by R. P. Chanda and D. C. Sircar (*Memos., Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, No. I, p. 16; *Select Inscriptions*, i. p. 90, Ist Ed.). The name of that city, in its Prakrit form, as engraved, looks like 'Takhesilā', but may also be read as 'Takkhasilā', if we consider its left limb in the middle, to represent the central bar of *ka*. The scribe seems to have made an attempt, though crudely, to write-*kkha*- but the sign does not appear to be that of the double consonant *khkha*. The occurrence of two aspirates as conjunct consonant, belonging to the same consonantal phonetic group, in a word, is unknown to the orthography of any inflexional language of the Indo-Germanic family.
3. *Epig. Ind*, xxi. p. 259 (Sten Konow).

(Lord Buddha), obviously in a relic—*stūpa* which was constructed by a pious Buddhist lady at (Cha)ḍaśilā (Chardaśilā), during the reign of an unnamed Kuṣāṇa king, in the year 134. The date appears to be in terms of the Vikrama Era and corresponds to A. D. 76, when the Kuṣāṇa Emperor Wema Kadphises (Kadphises II) was on the throne. The political importance of Chardaśilā virtually came to an end, with the accession of Kaṇiṣka I (A. D. 78), through the transfer of the capital to Puruṣapura, but its fame as the biggest *entrepot* in the East, remained unaffected for many generations more, as we know from history.

In the opinion of Sten Konow, Chaḍaśilā was the outskirts of Takṣaśilā. He, however, has not mentioned in which direction it lay. The ancient city of Taxila, as represented by its ruins, was large enough to give us a precise idea of the situation of its outskirts, which that *savant* had in view. It may also be noted here that the site of that city, as demarcated by the Archaeological Department, covers a large area of two districts, viz. Rawalpindi (Punjab) and Hazara (N. W. F. P.), in Pakistan, and this fact has added to the confusion already created by Sten Konow. We regret our inability to accept his suggestion in view of the fact that the provenance of the Kalawan Copper-plate Inscription definitely points to the second city of Taxila (Sirkap) as the Chaḍaśilā, mentioned in the aforesaid epigraphic record[1].

When and why the old capital was shifted to the newly built city at Sirkap are, indeed, relevant questions but difficult to answer. It appears that, about B. C. 110, the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas (c. 120-105 B. C.) was ruling from Taxila; and we feel also no hesitation to admit that, by the year B. C. 100, Menander (c. 110-95 B. C.) had extended his sway far beyond the Indus. These facts have been clearly born out by the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros and Bajapur Casket Inscription, No. I[2]. Menander's attempt to wrest the Indus-Jhelum Valley, in pursuance of his aggressive policy, led to a fierce struggle between him and Antialkidas or his successor, as a result of which, the political supremacy of the House of Eukratides collapsed, the authority of the House of Euthydemos was firmly established, and the city of Taxila was besieged and sacked. That political catastrophe might have been the ultimate cause for building a new city at Sirkap. The appearance of a new city, with a new name, by the site of the old one, is not uncommon to history. We have, thus, the old Kuśāvatī and the new Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) and likewise, Ayodhyā and Sāketa, as also Girivraja and Rājagṛha; and if we

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, No. 1, p. 16; *Epig. Ind.*, xxvi. p. 318 (D. C. Sircar); *Ibid.* xxvii. p. 52 (Sten Konow).

have now a new city, with a new name at Sirkap, replacing the old and dilapidated first city of Taxila at the Bhir Mound, we have nothing to wonder about it.

Regarding the origin of the name Chaḍaśilā (Sirkap), we would like to draw the attention of scholars to a curious piece of tradition preserved in the *Mahāvastu*. According to the same, when some heavenly beings brought to the Buddha four slabs of stone at Uruvilva (Bodh Gaya), for his personal use, he threw away one of them in the name of Trapusa and Bhallika, the two caravan merchants who were his first disciples. That slab of stone came down at a place called Śilā, in the kingdom of Gandhāra. It is possible to connect that tradition with the name Chaḍaśilā, in North-Western Prakrit, and Chaḍḍasilā, in Pali, both of which signify 'Cast-off stone-slab', from the etymological point of view[1].

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1. *Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Senart, iii. pp. 303-310.
The *Mahāvastu*, or *Māhāvastu-avadāna*, is an important work of the Northern Buddhists, in Sanskrit. It belongs to the Lokottaravāda sect of the *Hīnayāna* school of Buddhism. We believe that the original *Mahāvastu* was composed during the first half of the second century A. D., but two of its interpolated passages (of which there is a fair number in the text), have brought down its date to c. 455 A. D. To bring down the lower limit of that work to the middle of the fifth century A. D. would be an absurdity.

ARAGHAṬṬA IN EARLY INDIAN TEXTS

Lallanji Gopal

The term *araghaṭṭa* appearing in early Indian texts has often been translated by scholars as Persian wheel.[1] The expression Persian wheel has so often been used by many British writers in the nineteenth century that its usage has been fixed and people employ it without the slightest notice of the implications.

J. Needham[2] has expressed his reservation about the propriety of using the expression for describing the devices mentioned in ancient Indian sources. A. L. Basham[3] does not involve himself in the controversy about the problems arising out of the use of the expression and simply remarks : "The 'Persian wheel' turned by an ox is nowhere clearly mentioned in early sources, though it may have been used."

D. Sharma[4] and R. Nath[5] unequivocally assert that *araghaaṭṭa* of the ancient literary and epigraphical sources signified the Persian wheel of modern times and object to the persistence of the latter name in view of the earlier occurrence of the water-lifting device in India.

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1. Cowell and Thomas, *The Harṣacarita af Bāṇa*, p. 79; P. Peterson & H. Jacobi, *Upamitibhava-prapañca Kathā*, Contents, p. lxxx; L. Gopal *JESHO*, IV (1961), p. 89; VI (1963), 297; D. C. Sircar, 'Three East Indian Inscriptions of the Early Medieval Period", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*. Vol. VI (1973), p. 47.
2. *Science and Civilization in China*, IV.2, pp. 361-62.
3. *The Wonder that was India*, Third revised edition (London, 1967), p. 194.
4. Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, XXIX Session—Patiala 1967, p. 41.
5. 'Rehant versus the Persian wheel', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII (1970), Nos. 1-4 (Issued August 1972), p. 84. R. Nath does not take any notice of the views either of D. Sharma or of Irfan Habib. Possibly the article was prepared before he could receive copies of the Presidential Addresses of these scholars. R. Nath has not considered the points of difference between noria and Persian wheel brought out by Irfan Habib.

Irfan Habib has discussed the problem in some details and has inferred that 'the Arabs were innovators in this respect', and that 'the case for assigning the introduction of the Persian wheel in India to the period of the Turkish conquests and the centuries immediately following (13th and 14th centuries) would seem unassailable'.[1]

The main contribution of Irfan Habib is that through his Presidential Address he has given wide publicity to the need for a caution in the context of Indian study which was sounded earlier by J. Needham. Needham has pointed out the difference between noria (wheel carrying pots or buckets fixed on its rim) and *saqiya* (the Persian wheel).[2] Irfan Habib is the first to emphasise the distinction between noria and Persian wheel in interpreting the term *araghaṭṭa* or its derivatives. He correctly points out that in English the bucket-wheel, noria and Persian wheel are confounded[3], the confusion going back to the original usage in Arabic where *nan'ura* (noria), *saqiya* and *daulab* are considered synonyms.[4] The terms had their precise connotations, but the popular usage has not respected the distinctions.

In many literary texts, specially of a philosophical nature, the revolving movement of the buckets in the wheel of *araghaṭṭa* is mentioned as an illustration to bring home the concept of a *jiva* passing through the cycle of innumerable existences as insects, birds, animals and human beings. The employment of the irrigation device to explain a philosophical notion implies that it was quite well known in those times. The analogy is mentioned in the early Buddhist literature.[5] It is referred to in the Jain texts as well.[6] In one passage of the *Kuvalayamālā*[7] the unceasing round of births, old age and deaths is likened to the phenomenon of an *araghaṭṭa* with hundreds of *ghaṭis,* one pouring its water into the other. In another passage of the same text[8] a *jiva,* who desires deaths and is not disgusted with them, is said to continue in the *araghaṭṭa* of birth and death. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* the pitchers in the wheel of the water-machine getting filled with water

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1. Presidential Address, Medieval India Section, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* XXXI Session—Varanasi, 1969, pp. 152-53.
2. *Science and Civilization in China,* IV.2, pp. 361-62.
3. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v.
4. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* Bk., Pt. 3, London, 1867, p. 902, s. v. *daulab* under *dulab* as quoted by Irfan Habib, *Op. cit.*
5. J. Needham. *Op. cit.,*pp. 361-62.
6. D. Sharma, *Op cit.*, p. 41.
7. P. 227.
8. P. 277.

and then becoming empty once again is mentioned as a common-place phenomenon.[1] The references in the *Upamitibhavaprapañca Kathā*[2] are significant in that, for describing the unceasing cycle of life and death, which repeats itself mechanically the maxim or analogy of the wheel of pitchers in an *araghaṭṭa* (*araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantranyāya*) is mentioned. In literary and philosophical texts of Sanskrit it is an established and regular convention that, on the basis of well-known facts or commonly occurring phenomena, certain pithy phrases are accepted as maxims which obviate the need for giving full details. It is for this reason that all the details of the working of an *araghaṭṭa* are not found in the ancient texts. The absence of a reference to any particular detail of the *araghaṭṭa* device is not a conclusive argument for its non-existence. In analogies only those aspects, which have a relevance for the context, are mentioned. It is the continuous revolving movement of the *araghaṭṭa* wheel that is of consequence to the philosophical texts. If it can be demonstrated that the other features of the *araghaṭṭa* were required to be mentioned by the context, then only we can infer anything from their absence in those passages.

In interpreting the nature of the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* Irfan Habib relies on its description in the *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka*. According to him, it 'decisively supports the view that the device was originally the noria and not the Persian wheel'; the passage says that it is a contrivance consisting of a cart-wheel, to whose various spokes (*are are*) earthen pitchers are tied that lift water when the wheel is rotated by one or two men.[3]

Prof. Habib relies on the information appearing in *A Critical Pali Dictionary*.[4] For a proper evaluation of the Pāli evidence we must present it in the correct historical sequence. The starting point is a passage in the *Cullavagga*[5], which forms part of the

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1. त्वं किं न पश्यसि घटीर्जलयन्त्रचक्रे रिक्ता भवन्ति भरिताः पुनरेव रिक्ताः । P. 40, l.24; p. 24, ll.5-6.
2. अरघट्ट्घटीयन्त्रन्यायेनानन्तपुद्गलपरावर्त्तनसमस्तयोनिस्थानास्कन्दनद्वारेण पर्यटित इति । P. 66.
सर्वे जीवाः·· सततमपरापरभवप्रायोग्यकर्मजालविपाकोदयद्वारेण भवितव्यतया भ्रमिताश्चारघट्टघटी-यन्त्रन्यायेन···भेदविवर्तेन सर्वस्थानेषु प्रत्येकमनन्तवाराः । P. 418.
आरघट्टघटीयन्त्रन्यायेन भ्रमितोऽहमनन्तं कालं प्रतिस्थानमनन्तवाराः । P. 723.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 161.
4. Begun by V. Trenckner and revised by D. Anderson, Vol. I (Copenhagen, 1924-1948), p. 423.
5. अनुजानामि भिक्खवे तुलं करकटकं चक्कचट्टकं ति । भाजना बहू भिज्जन्ति·· पे·· अनुजानामि, भिक्खवे तयो वारके लोहवारकं दारुवारकं चम्मखण्डं ति । (Nalanda edn.); p. 212, line 1,

Vinayapiṭaka. The passage records the permission given to the monks by the Buddha to use three water-lifting devices : *tulaṁ, karakaṭakaṁ* and *cakkavaṭṭakaṁ.* When the monks submitted that in drawing water many earthen pitchers are broken, the Buddha permitted them to use three kinds of vessels, of iron, wood and leather. The *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the *Vinayapiṭaka* written by Buddhaghoṣa in the fifth century A. D., adds some useful information[1] : *Tula* is the pulley like the balance of a merchant for lifting water.[2] *Karakaṭaka* is the device for drawing water by hand or by yoking bulls and with the help of long straps or ropes. *Cakkavaṭṭaka* is the *araghaṭṭaghaṭiyantra. Cammakhaṇḍa* is a leather vessel attached to a *tula* or a *karakaṭaka.* Here the most significant piece of information supplied by Buddhaghoṣa is the name *araghaṭṭaghaṭiyantra.* We can explain the appearance of the name in three ways : (a) it existed earlier, but the Buddha gave only one of the names of this water-drawing device, (b) the name was coined later, sometime between the compilation of the *Cullavagga* and the writing of the *Samantapāsādikā*, and (c) the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* was similar in nature to the *cakkavaṭṭaka*, but not identical with it, and Buddhaghoṣa mentioned it because it was more popular in his times. We have no means to support our preference for any one of these explanations. We can be sure only about the introduction of the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* before the fifth century A. D. Whereas the *Cullavagga* indicates that it contained a wheel, the *Samantapāsādikā* emphasises the role of pitchers in this mechanical device. Further, from the explanation of *Cammakhaṇḍa* offered by Buddhaghoṣa we can infer that leather vessels were not used in the *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* and that the *ghaṭi*-s were made of iron or clay. The description of the device,[3] which Prof. Habib reproduces, allegedly on the basis of the *Samantapāsādikā*, does not appear in the *Samantapāsādikā*. Actually it occurs in the *Vimativinodinī*, which is a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā* composed by the Theravādin monk Kassapa who belonged to the close of the twelfth century and lived in

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1. तुलं ति पणिकानं विय उदक उद्बाहनक तुलं । करकटको बुच्चति गोणो वा योजेत्वा गहेत्वा दीघवरत्तादीहि आकड्ढनयन्तं । चक्कवट्टकं ति । अरहट्टघयियन्तं । चम्मखण्डं नाम तुलाय वा करकटके वा योजेतब्बक चम्मभाजनं । (Nalanda edn.) Vol. III, p. 1290, line 7.
2. It is popularly known as *ḍhekuli* and works like the weighing balance. It operates with the help of a weight or big stone at one end of a pole with a vessel or water bag attached to the other end.
3. The original reads—
अरहटघटीयन्तं सकटचक्कसन्थानयन्तं, तस्स अरे अरे घटिकानि बन्धित्वा एकेन द्वीहि वा परिभमियमानस्स उदक-निब्बाहनं वेदितब्बं ।

the Nāgānana *vihāra* in the capital city of the Colas.[1] It has to be appreciated that one description need not hold good for all periods and all regions. The geographical peculiarities can cause significant variations. For instance, the level at which water is available in a particular region will be an important consideration for the choice of the type of waterlifting device. Likewise, the possibility of some improvement or change in the device during the long period involved cannot be ruled out. In the case of the *Vimativinodinī* it is not unlikely that its author, a monk living in a monastery in the Cola kingdom, did not have a chance to be acquainted with the water-lifting device of the type of *araghaṭṭa*, resembling a Persian wheel, and hence explained it, on the basis of his own knowledge, in terms of a *ghaṭiyantra* resembling a noria.

Irfan Habib points out that 'one of the principal differences between the noria and the Persian wheel, as far as practical results are concerned, is that the noria can only operate on an open surface (stream or reservoir), whereas the Persian wheel can also raise water from deep wells'.[2] He holds that the water-raising device signified by the terms *araghaṭṭa* and *ghaṭīyantra* was noria and not Persian wheel, because it is not stated anywhere that these devices were set up on wells.[3] But, the contention is not valid. The references to these devices do not uphold the charge against *araghaṭṭa* or *ghaṭīyantra*. Some of these references are quite explicit in connecting the devices with a well.[4] In a *Pañcatantra*[5] story the presence of the device of *araghaṭṭaghaṭī* in a well is intrinsically woven into the plot of the story. Here a frog living in a well (*kūpa*), disgusted with his relatives, ascends the *araghaṭṭaghaṭī* and comes out of the well.[6] In order to punish his own relatives, he leads a snake to the well and takes him down by way of the *araghaṭṭa-ghaṭikā*.[7] Later, when his enemies had been destroyed he requests the snake to leave by

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1. R. Sankrityayana, *Pāli Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* (1st edn.), p. 268.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 150.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
4. This is clear in the dictionaries, the *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Vācaspatyam*, though both are modern compositions. The *Śabdakalpadruma* defines *araghaṭṭa* as कूपात् जलनिःसारणार्थं घटीयन्त्रविशेषः (a particular wheel machine for drawing water from the well), whereas the *Vācaspatyam* defines it as कूपादितस्तोयोत्थापको यन्त्रभेदः (a type of machine for lifting water from the well, etc.) These texts are quoted by R. Nath, *Op. cit.*, p. 82.
5. The *Pañcatantra* (*Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadra) Ed. Hertel (H. O. S. Vol. XI, 1908), Book IV, Tale I, pp. 231-44.
6. दायादैरुद्वेजितोऽरघट्टघटीमालाम् आरुह्य कूपात् क्रमेण निष्क्रान्तः। *Pañcatantra*, p. 231,
7. कूपान्तम् आसाद्यारघट्टघटिकामार्गेण। *Ibid.*, p. 233,

way of the *ghaṭikā*.[1] The derivative versions of the *Pañcatantra* text available to us are of a late date. The *Pañcākhyānaka* of Pūrṇabhadra was written in the closing years of the twelfth century. But, as the present reference is an essential part of the story itself, the information can be taken to reflect realities of the period when the stories were originally written. Viṣṇuśarman, the author of the original text, possibly belonged to the period between A. D. 200 and 400. The earliest available version of the *Pañcatantra* cycle of stories is the *Tantrākhyāyikā* written about A. D. 300.[2] The story of the frog Gaṅgadatta does not occur in this version, but another story in the same text relates to a person who used to operate the *araghaṭṭa* (*araghaṭṭavāhaḥ puruṣaḥ*).[3] Once he fell down in a well (*kūpa*). While falling he was wounded in his face by a big piece of a vessel. Though the precise nature of the *araghaṭṭa* is not clear, its association with a well is mentioned here. Further, there was a separate class of people who operated the device.

Irfan Habib[4] refers to two passages from Bāṇa's works as mentioning the device, one in the *Harṣacarita*[5], and the second in the *Kādambari*,[6] but without any mention of wells. Though the second passage mentions wells and water-wheels together, here there is no intrinsic connection between the two. In another passage of the *Kādambari*,[7] which could not be noticed by Irfan Habib, the association of *ghaṭīyantraka* with well (*kūpa*) is very clearly mentioned. It is an important reference for determining the nature of the *ghaṭīyantra* and we shall analyse its full implications later on.

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1. अनेनैव घटिकामार्गेण गम्यताम् । *Ibid.*, p. 234.
2. The text mentions Cāṇakya, hence it could not have been earlier than 300 B. C. Likewise *dīnāra*, occuring in the text, suggests, according to Jolly, a date not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The Sassanian King Ghosrau Anosharwan (A. D. 531) got the text translated into Pahlavi, which indicates that it was a reputed work at the time of Ghosrau. See *Tantrākhyāyikā*, Ed. J. Hertel (H. O. S., Vol. XIV), Preface, pp. ix-xi.
3. कस्मिंश्चिदधिष्ठानेऽरघट्टवाहः पुरुषः । स कदाचित्प्रमत्तः पतितः । Book IV, Tale 3, pp. 142-43.
4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 (f. n. 3), 161. There are some other references as well which we have noticed in suitable contexts.
5. P. V. Kane, *Harṣacarita, Ucchvāsa* III, p. 42.
6. सुधावेदिकोपशोभितोदपानैरनवरतचलितजलघटीयन्त्रसिच्यमानहरितोपवनान्धकारैः । (Ed. M. R. Kale) p. 85.
7. क्वचिद्गन्धोदककूपेषु बद्धकाञ्चनसुधापङ्कामपीडेषु स्थूलबीसलतादण्डघटितारकाणि कृतककेतकदलजलद्रोणिकानि कुवलयावलीरज्जुभिर्ग्रथ्यमानानि पत्रपुटघटीयन्त्रकाणि । *Ibid.*, p. 322.
The passage is noted by R. Nath, *Op. cit.*, p. 83, but he has not analysed its full significance.

Irfan Habib points out that in the case of the noria the wheel carries pots or buckets fixed on its rim, but in the Persian wheel the chain makes it possible to raise water from some depth. His argument for not equating the *araghaṭṭa* or *ghaṭiyantra* with the Persian wheel is that in the literary references there is no hint of a chain carrying the pots.[1] As we have already submitted, the literary references cannot be expected to mention all the details of the water-lifting device. They are generally silent about this aspect of the water-lifting device. In most of the cases we do not find indications for the pitchers either being fixed on the rim of the wheel or hanging down with a chain or rope. Two significant exceptions are passages in the writings of Bāṇa, who has a reputation for keen observation and faithful description of minute details. In one of the passages in the *Kādambarī*[2] we have a reference to the pots of water-wheels being fastened with ropes. One may raise the objection that this reference need not be interpreted to suggest that the pots were made to hang with the help of ropes. The other passage in the *Harṣacarita*[3] is quite explicit and does not leave any scope for doubt. The Buddhist monk Divākaramitra, preaching to the disturbed princess Rājyaśrī, says : 'The long ropes of the water-wheel, —birth, old age, and death, —go round and round, night and day, to the five races of men.'[4] The passage is crouched in philosophical concepts. What is significant for us in the present case is the reference to the use of ropes (*rajjavaḥ*) in the device with a chain of pots (*ghaṭiyantra*) which are clearly mentioned as being long (*drāghīyasyo*) and as moving (*saṁsarantyo*). It is clear that the ropes mentioned in the present passage were not intended merely to fasten the pots. They served as the chain; they were purposely made to be of a great length to reach water level at a low depth. In the *Pañcatantra* reference noted above the frog is said to have come out of the well by stages (*krameṇa*) riding on the chain of pitchers in the *araghaṭṭa* (*araghaṭṭaghaṭimālām*). This implies a series of pots attached to a rope hanging down to the water in the well.

The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*[5] has a very apt simile based on the form of the *ghaṭiyantra* and its functioning. The necklace of Candralekhā, who had eyes like those of the young

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1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.
2. कुवलयावलीरज्जुभिर्ग्रथ्यमानानि पत्रपुटघटीयन्त्रकाणि ।
   Op. cit., p. 322
3. संसरन्त्यो नक्तं दिवं द्राघीयस्यो जन्मजरामरणघटनघटीयन्त्रराजिरज्जवः ।
   (N. S. P. Fifth edition, 1925) p. 254
4. Cowell and Thomas, *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa*, p. 255.
5. हारः कुरङ्गशावाक्ष्या राजति स्थूलमौक्तिकः ।
   नाभिलावण्यपानीयघटीयन्त्रगुणोपमः ॥
   VIII.33.

one of a deer, is said to be like the ropes of the water-machine with pots (*ghaṭīyantra-guṇopamaḥ*) : it had big pearls (resembling the pots) and was drawing loveliness from the navel (as water is drawn from a well). The verse is important in making a very clear reference to the ropes of the water-lifting device. The simile indicates that the ropes hang low longitudinally and have a long chain of pots attached to them in the manner the pearls are closely woven into a necklace.

Irfan Habib[1] has rightly emphasised the problem of the dating of the first actual application of gearing to the water-raising devices. According to him, this crucial combination became generalised only in Islamic technological practice and is described and pictured first by Al-Jazari (A. D. 1206).[2] China received it from the Islamic lands, the first illustration in China being dated A. D. 1313.[3] It has to be noted that in the Indian literary sources we have nothing to refer to the gearing system. Siddharṣi in his *Upamiti-bhavaprapañca Kathā*[4] (completed in A. D. 906) gives a graphic description of the *araghaṭṭa*. The text is a long Allegory to explain the mundane career of the Soul (*jīva*), from the lowest stage of existence to final liberation, with a view to illustrating the Jain religion, particularly its moral aspect. In the present passage also we find a series of symbolism in the same strain. But, underlying the metaphors, we can get some idea of the *araghaṭṭa* and its working.

The text makes it clear that the device was used for irrigating fields. It mentions sluices (*nirvahaṇi*), channels, fields (*yāvam, kedāraka*), seed (*bījam*) and a sower (*vāpaka*) and goes on to add that the sown seeds, irrigated (*siktaṁ*) by the *araghaṭṭa*, fructify into crop. It further speaks of reservoirs attached to the well (*pānāntika*) for the purposes of irrigation (*secanārtham*). The device is explicitly associated with a well (*kūpa*), which is described as being so deep that its bottom is not visible (*adṛṣṭatala*).

In some other texts the terms *araghaṭṭa* and *ghaṭīyantra* are sometimes mixed up.[5]

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1. *Op. cit.*, p. 153, f. n. 1.
2. J. Needham, *Op. cit.*, pp. 352-53, fig. 587.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 362.
4. PP. 984-86.
5. Whereas most of the lexicons take the two terms as having different meanings, the *Pāia-lacchī-nāma-mālā* of Dhanapāla (v. 314) makes the two synonymous (अरघट्टो घटीयजंतं). The *Vāṅmayārṇava* (v. 2006) also notes the use of the term *ghaṭīyantra* in the sense of *araghaṭṭa*— अरघट्टे घटीयन्त्रं यन्त्रे समयसूचके । According to M. C. Joshi, 'An early Inscriptional Reference to Persian wheel', *Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 80th Birthday Felicitation Volume*, p. 217, f. n. 2 *araghaṭṭa* undoubtedly refers to noria but *ghaṭīyantra* 'perhaps indicates a more complicated technique (as it is called *ghaṭīyantra*) and hence may stand for a type of Persian wheel'.

But, the present text makes a clear distinction between the three, the *araghaṭṭa*, the *kūpa* and the *ghaṭīyantra*. Whereas *ghaṭiyantra* refers to the wheel with the pots, *araghaṭṭa* is a general term for the water-lifting device and includes all the different parts. The *araghaṭṭa* is described as fitted with all the materials or parts (*sarvasāmagrīsaṁyukta*)[1]. The text mentions four cultivators (*karṣakāḥ*), who are also called *sārathayaḥ* (drivers, because they also drive the bullocks). After one verse, the text refers to sixteen bullocks (*balīvardāḥ*), who are speedy and agitated with vigour, even though without fodder and drink (*vināpi cārīpānīyaṁ vegavanto baloddhatāḥ*). The number of bullocks is stated to be sixteen, possibly beause of the analogy with *kaṣāya*-s, and implies that there were many bullocks used in relays. This is the only passage, which we have been able to trace, connecting bullocks with the *araghaṭṭa*. It has, however, to be noted that there is no reference here to the gear system by which the bullocks rotated the wheel outside the well, which, in turn, made the wheel fixed in the well to revolve. But, as we have already pointed out, the omission of a reference to the gear system does not necessarily establish the absence of this particular part of the device. The possibility of the device being operated by manual labour does not appear to be likely in view of the references that it operated without any break.[2] The text speaks of two big gourds (*tumbadvayaṁ mahat*). As is well known, gourds are used for keeping water and other liquids. Hence *tumba* here may refer to pitchers or vessels in general. But, the obvious question will arise why only two *tumba*-s are mentioned. One may consider here the details of another device for drawing water from the well. It is known as *pura* or *purahaṭa*. It operates like an ordinary well. The only difference is that whereas in an ordinary well a person (man or woman) draws water with the help of a pitcher and ropes, in *pura* or *purahaṭa* the bullocks going down a slightly slopy ground draw a big leather bucket full of water; as the bullocks walk back to the well the bucket is automatically lowered to the water. The device requires at least two people, one driving the bullocks and the other emptying the bucket and also filling it up. This arrangement can be made on a number of sides, two,

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1. Earlier (p. 986) the adjective *yukto* is used. The term can mean 'yoked', but possibly it refers to the device being fitted with all its parts. The text mentions a *pratīcchakaḥ* (waiter or receiver) and a *dṛḍham* (strongly fixed) *darpatikam* (?). But, the precise significance of these terms is not clear.

2. नित्यं युक्तो वहन्नुच्चैः । P. 984
नित्यं वहन्नेष विभाव्यते । P. 985
सततभ्रमे । P. 986

four or even eight. Most often the rope connected with the vessel is drawn by two or, sometimes, four oxen. This may seem to be in line with the reference to sixteen bullocks in our present text. But, in that case the number of *tumba*-s should have been larger, eight or four. If the device operates on one side only, we would require only one *tumba* and not two *tumba*-s. The *tumba*-s, further, have a limited capacity. Even the biggest possible *tumba* cannot contain sufficient water to justify the manual and animal labour employed in drawing water by that device. For this reason the water containers generally used in a *pura* or *purahaṭa* are huge buckets made of hide. Gourds or pitchers made of wood, clay or metal are more convenient for a Persian wheel and noria, where a constant supply or flow of water is arranged and where the larger number of vessels will not require a larger size for them. In our text the number of gourds is given as two on account of the requirements of the analogy based on Jain philosophy and ethics. The evil tendencies mentioned here are two—*duṣṭayoga* and *pramāda*. Thus, the expression *tumbadvayam* is to be interpreted rather liberally as referring to many pitchers. There are many details of the device, as mentioned in the text, which militate against its identification with *pura* or *purahaṭa*. We find a reference to the *arakāḥ* (spokes of the wheel) apparently as one of the important parts of the device, but they cannot find a place in a *pura* or *purahaṭa*. Further, the *araghaṭṭa* is said to revolve constantly (*satatabhrame*). The use of the word *bhrama*, meaning revolving or encircling, is significant; it cannot hold good for a *pura* or *purahaṭa*. *Pura* or *purahaṭa* is a simple device. There is no complicated appliance or construction in it to deserve the name *yantra* for it. In the text the device is called *ghaṭīyantra*. In a *pura* or *purahaṭa* it is the leather bucket which is generally used, for which the word *ghaṭa* will not be apt. Even if we do not object to the use of the word *ghaṭī* for the leather bucket, the device cannot correctly be named as *ghaṭīyantra*, because *ghaṭī* does not occupy such an important place in the overall form of a *pura* of *purahaṭa*. The term *ghaṭīyantra* suggests that pitehers enjoy a prominent position in the construction of the device; this will suit better a device in which there is a wheel of pitchers. The account of the uplifting of water in the text favours a Persian wheel or noria and not a *pura* or *purahaṭa*. The pitcher is sunk in the water, it is filled with water, and then the water is poured out.[1] It is a continuous and constant process, very much mechanical and regular. The description will have a better applicability in the case of a noria or a Persian wheel.

Of the noria and Persian wheel, the description in the text will suit the latter more. The references to the device continuously revolving, coupled with the mention of

1. तोयौघमग्नपूरितरेचितम् । P. 985.

the bullocks, suggest that the device could not be a noria, which is managed through manual labour. The adjective *sudirgha* (long) used for the *ghaṭīyantra*, also suits a Persian wheel, in which the chain of buckets hangs down deep into the well, unlike noria in which the operation is conditioned by the radius of the wheel and the space available at the mouth of the reservoir or well. Thus, we can conclude that, within the limitations of the analogies, the passage seeks to describe the Persian wheel.

In the writings of Śaṅkara, the great Advaita Vedāntin, we find some interesting casual allusions to the *ghaṭiyantra*.[1] Śaṅkara, who probably belonged to the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, was born in Kerala, but, through his wide travels, had intimate knowledge of different parts of the country. The allusions in his writings are cryptic in nature and are made to illustrate some philosophical concepts, mainly the chain of life and death. One cannot expect a full account of the different parts of the water-lifting device and the procedure of its functioning. Only those features of the device, which are relevant to the philosophical point being enunciated, find a mention.

Here we refer to four passages occurring in Śaṅkara's writings. The first passage in the *Ajñānabodhinī*[2] says that in the case of a well with *ghaṭīyantra* (*ghaṭīyantrakūpe*) the borders, increasing through the mud being thrown by the device, cannot have life. The passage, in effect, refers to the silt, accompanying water taken out of the well, getting deposited near the well, but being without the nourishing qualities of the water. The significant point in the passage is the clear association of a well with the water-lifting device. This would help us in identifying the device with the Persian wheel as against the noria.

The second passage, occurring in the commentary on the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[3] is more helpful in marking out the distinction between the two devices. It speaks of the *ghaṭīyantra*, mounted on the wheel, revolving again and again, without reaching or attaining it. Likewise, human beings, mounted on the wheel of birth and death, revolve again and again, but do not attain it. Here we have two important indications. First, the device is described as mounted on the wheel (*cakrārūḍha*) and not as fixed on or attached to the device. This is a basic difference between the two devices. In the case of the

1. Sri Sachchidanand Giri, an I. C. H. R. Junior Research Fellow, has very kindly collected for me four references to *ghaṭīyantra* in Śaṅkara's writings.

2. किंवा घटीयन्त्रकूपे तत्क्षिप्यमाणमृदि वर्द्धमानतीरे किं चैतन्यं भवति । *Prakaraṇa* I.

3. चक्रारूढा घटीयन्त्रवत् पुनः पुनरित्यावर्तस्तं न प्रतिपद्यन्ते । IV.15.5.

Persian wheel, the chain of pots is mounted on the wheel; but in the noria the pots are separately tied at different points on the rim of the wheel. The present reference, thus, suits the Persian wheel. Again, the second part of the passage, observing that the *ghaṭīyantra* merely rotates, without reaching the wheel, also suits a Persian wheel. In the noria, the pots are directly attached to the wheel, hence there is no question of the pots reaching the wheel. It is in a Persian wheel that the analogy mentioned in the passage has its full applicability; the chain of the pots, being mounted on the wheel, revolves with the rotation of the wheel, but does not obtain or reach it.

The third reference, in the commentary on the *Brahmasūtra,*[1] is very brief. It mentions the *ghaṭiyantra* as continuously revolving. There is no direct and clear reference to any part of the device, but it does imply some arrangement by which the chain of pots revolves continuously. If the device is managed by manual labour, the description that it continuously revolves will not be feasible. It is only when the wheel is moved by some other agency, for example, the bullocks, that the rotation of the pots can have some justification to be described as continuous.

The fourth passage occurs in the *Upadeśasāhasrī.*[2] It speaks of man being revolved by his own actions like the *ghaṭīyantra,* on the wheel of the cycle of birth and death. Here also we find a clear distinction being made between the wheel (*cakra*) and the *ghaṭīyantra.* The most important point, however, is the statement that a man is rotated through his own actions. The analogy with the water-lifting device implies that the *ghaṭīyantra* is also being revolved through its own action or movement. The suggestion is obvious that in the case of the *ghaṭīyantra* the movement is not due to any outside agency; it results from its own inner mechanism. Thus, the passage shows that the device is constantly revolved, but not through manual labour; it rotates through the action of its own parts.

R. Nath[3] has noticed the occurrence of the term *araghaṭṭaka*[4] in the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*[5] of Halāyudha, but fails to interpret the passage correctly. According to him,

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1. घटीयन्त्रवद् अनिशमावर्त्तमाने । II.2.19.
2. जन्ममरणप्रबन्धचक्रघटीयन्त्रवत् स्वकर्मणा भ्राम्यमाणः । Part I.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
4. According to the rules of the Sanskrit grammar we can derive the form *araghaṭṭaka* from *araghaṭṭa* and retain the original meaning (*araghaṭṭa+svārthe kan*).
5. उद्घाटकं घटीयन्त्रं पादावर्तोऽरघट्टकः ।
पानं तु सारणिः प्रोक्ता प्रणाली जलपद्धतिः ॥ III.685,

Halāyudha, in this verse, explicitly defines the *araghaṭṭaka* as 'the particular machine with wheels which rotate and which draws water from the well to be used into canals' and 'has also called it *pādāvartaḥ* (which rotates by foot) which shows that at times the mechanism was not worked by bullocks but, instead, by a man who used to ascend the ladders of the wheel and thus continuously helped it to rotate.'

Nath's view suffers from a fundamental mistake. The verse in question does not propose to define an *araghaṭṭaka.* Nath has failed to appreciate the characteristic style of the ancient lexicons of Sanskrit. These lexicons seldom attempt a definition or detailed description. Terms connected with a particular phenomenon or having a similar nature are generally put together. In many cases one line of the verse contains meanings of two terms which have a similar nature but are by no means synonyms. Here also the first line gives the meanings of two words *ghaṭiyantra* and *araghaṭṭaka,* and the second explains *sāraṇi* and *praṇālī. Ghaṭiyantra* and *araghaṭṭaka* are not synonyms, though they are related, both being connected with the water-lifting device. The other words in the first line are intended to bring out the meaning of the two terms. *Udghāṭakam* explains *ghaṭiyantram* and *pādāvartaḥ* explains *araghaṭṭakaḥ.*

Ghaṭa or *ghaṭaka* means a pot, jar or pitcher. But *udghāṭaka* is to be derived from *ud*+ √*ghaṭ* 'to move upward' or 'to uplift.' It refers to a water-lifting device. Incidentally it may be noted that *ghāṭa* or *ghāṭaka* in *udghāṭaka* reminds one of *ghaṭi* in the term *ghaṭiyantra.* It may be tempting to discuss the form *udghātakaṁ* in place of *ud*+*ghāṭakam.* The verb *ud*+ √*han*[1] is used in the sense of 'to move or push or press upwards or out, lift up.' From this we get the form *udghāta* meaning 'raising, elevation.' It may be noted that *udghāṭanam* stands for a bucket for drawing water. We are tempted to conjecture that the lexicographer wanted to explain *ghaṭīyantra* as a device for lifting water with the help of pots or pitchers.

In the case of the second term (*araghaṭṭaka*) the meaning given by the lexicographer is *pādāvarta,* which is explained by Monier-Williams[2] as 'a wheel worked by the foot for raising water from well.' Nath has given fuller details about the manipulation of the wheel by feet. Clearly, in some parts of the country the water-lifting device was managed in this manner. This is a characteristic of noria, but it is to be noted that noria is not always worked by feet. Sometimes it is rotated by hands. We may suggest that the original idea of the lexicographer in using the form *pādāvarta* has been missed. One of the meanings of *pāda* is a wheel,[3] and the term *pādāvarta* may mean 'that which is rotated

1. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 188, Column 3.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 618, column 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 617 column 2.

by a wheel.' Possibly *pādāvarta* is used by Halāyudha to point out that *araghaṭṭaka* was rotated by a wheel. As we have discussed below, the word *ara* in *araghaṭṭaka*, meaning the spoke of a wheel, points to the same characteristic of the device. Thus, we can conclude that Halāyudha mentions two separate terms in connection with the water-lifting device, one emphasising the chain of pots and the other the wheel.

The testimony of the *Vaijayantī*[1] of Yādavaprakāśa, who is identified with the preceptor of Rāmānuja, the famous Vaiṣṇava saint and philosopher (11th-12th century A. D.), is not much different from that of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. The crucial line in the verse is almost identical. But, now it appears as the second line, the first listing three words used in the sense of a sluice (*nirgamadvāri*). The first line contains the additional word *bhramaḥ* (rotation) introducing the terms in the second line. There is, however, one significant change in the second line. In place of *udghāṭakam* the *Vaijayantī* has the reading *udghāṭanam*. As we have already pointed out, *udghāṭana* is a bucket for drawing water. It lends support to the interpretation of the terms mentioned by the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* which we have proposed above.

The main line, relevant for us, occurs, with some minor variations, in some other lexicons as well. Thus, the Jain polymath Hemacandra (A D. 1088-1172) in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[2] employs the masculine from of *udghāṭaka*. Incidentally it may be noted that the preceding line lists some terms used in the sense of a small well (*kṣudrakūpa*). The *Kalpadrukoṣa*[3] also employs the masculine form of *udghāṭaka* and in the second line implies a connection with a well. Here the synonym of *araghaṭṭa* is *āvartta* (a. rotating device). We do not find the word *pāda* prefixed to *āvartta*. The way the device was made to revolve does not receive any emphasis. We wonder if this can be taken to imply that the *araghaṭṭa* was not always made to rotate with the help of feet.

The combined testimony of the *Amarakoṣa* and the *Kalpadrukoṣa* makes an interesting suggestion. Both the lexicons give *udghāṭanam* as the synonym of *ghaṭīyantra*. The

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1. सरणी हरणिभूंणि निर्गमद्वारि तु भ्रमः ।
उद्घाटनं घटीयन्त्रं पादावर्तोऽरघट्टकः ॥
Pātāla, Ch. 4 (*jalādhyāya*), verse 21.

2. वापी स्यात् क्षुद्रकूपे तु चुरा चुण्डी च चूतकः ।
उद्घाटकः घटीयन्त्रं पादावर्त्तोऽरघट्टकः ॥
Tiryakkāṇḍam, v. 1093.

3. उद्घाटको घटीयन्त्रं स्यादावर्तोऽरघट्टकः ।
अस्त्री निपानमाहावा उपकूपजलाशये ॥
Samudrādiprakāṇḍa, v. 131,

Amarakoṣa[1] makes a pointed reference to the device being used for raising water from a well (*salilodvāhanaṁ prehaḥ*). The *Kalpadrukoṣa*[2] lists *tantrī* also as synonymous with *ghaṭi-yantra and udghāṭana.* The significant difference between the two lexicons is that whereas *āraghaṭṭa* is not mentioned by the *Amarakoṣa,* it occurs in the *Kalpadrukoṣa* which explains it as a device for lifting water from a well (*kūpājjalodvāhanam*). It is interesting to find that *Kṣirasvāmin* (11th century A. D.) names his commentary on the *Amarakoṣa,* which is the oldest extant and the most important one, as the *Udghāṭana.* Possibly the author wanted to record the claim that his commentary brings to surface the deep and hidden meanings of words in the lexicon like the *udghāṭana* device which raises water from deep wells.

The *Amarakoṣa* does not mention *araghaṭṭa* elsewhere as well while listing terms connected with wells, canals, irrigation, etc. Whether the term appears in this lexicon is debatable. In the third section of the lexicon, in connection with the enumeration of terms for indicating the gender of words, which is generally a source of much worry to the students of Sanskrit language, we find the expression *Koṭṭāraghaṭṭahaṭṭāśca.*[3] Generally the expression is analysed to indicate that three words *koṭṭāra, ghaṭṭa* and *haṭṭa* are in the masculine gender. Some grammarians rearrange the first two words as being *koṭa* and *araghaṭṭa,* but the suggestion has not received general credence. The absence of the term *araghaṭṭa* in its proper place is not without significance. The water-lifting device may have come in vogue, but the term had not passed into general usage. A lexicon cannot be expected to be completely exhaustive, but certainly the important technical terms may be looked for in it. The absence of *araghaṭṭa* in the *Amarakoṣa* may have much value in determining the chronological pointers for the introduction and popularisation of the water-lifting device.

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1. उद्घाटनं घटीयन्त्रं सलिलोद्वाहनं प्रेहः ।
II.10.27.
M. C. Joshi, *Op. cit.*, p. 217, f. n. 2 also notes the association of *ghaṭīyantra* with a well in this reference. According to him the use of *ghaṭīyantra* for a type of Persian wheel becomes further clear from this reference.

2. स्त्रियां तन्त्री घटीयन्त्रं स्यादुद्घाटनमित्यपि ।
कूपाज्जलोद्वाहनं स्यादरघट्टः पुमानयम् ॥
Śūdrādiprakāṇḍa, v. 56.

3. कोट्टारघट्टहट्टाश्च पिण्डगोण्डपिचण्डवत् ।
गडुः करण्डो लगुडो वरदण्डश्च किणो घुणः ॥
III *Kāṇḍa, Liṅgādisaṅgrahavarga*, verse 18.

Some additional information about the water-lifting device is to be found in the lexicons. Thus, the *Nānārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa*[1] of Keśavasvāmī says that the term *pādāvartta* is used in the sense of revolving of feet as also of *araghaṭṭaka*. The *Vāṅmayārṇava*[2] with an insignificant change reproduces the line. The *Śabdaratnasamanvayakoṣa*[3] uses the word *araghaṭṭaka* in the sense of water-device (*toyayantra*) and a revolving machine (*pādāvartta*). This has a reference to two important features of the *araghaṭṭa*. The *Vaṅmayārṇava*[4] notes *vilomam* (neuter form) as another term for an *araghaṭṭaka*. Likewise, the *Śabdaratnasamanvayakoṣa*[5] mentions *tūruvūka* as a term used for the *ghaṭīyantra* by the grammarians. The justification of the use of the two terms is not apparent. We cannot make out the particular characteristics of the device which are hinted by these terms.

Some scholars prefer to trace the use of *rahaṭa* back to the Ṛgvedic times.[6] There are passages which refer to wells and water drawn from them.[7] The only passages containing a direct allusion to the device for drawing water from the well, which we can find in the *Ṛgveda*,[8] are X. 101. 5 and 7. They are translated by R. T. H. Griffith as : 'Arrange the buckets in their place : securely fasten on the straps. We will pour forth the well that hath a copious stream, fair-flowing well that never fails' (5) ; 'Refresh the horses, win the prize before you : equip a chariot fraught with happy fortune. Pour forth the well with stone wheel, wooden buckets, the drink of heroes, with the trough for armour.' (7).[9]

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1. पादावर्तः पुनः पादस्यावर्त्तेऽप्यरघट्टके । *Caturakṣarakāṇḍa, Pulliṅgādhyāya*, v. 91.
2. पादावर्त्तः पुमान्पादस्यावर्त्तेप्यरघट्टके । V. 3266.
3. तोययन्त्रेऽरघट्टकः पादावर्त्ते च कीर्तितः । P. 45, *Ka-pañcamam*, v. 15
4. विलोमस्तु प्रतीपे स्याद् भुजङ्गे वरुणे शुनि ।
   आमलक्यां विलोमी च विलोमं चारघट्टके ॥ V. 5468.
5. एरण्डे तूरुबूकः स्याद् घटीयन्त्रे तु शाब्दिकाः । P. 33, *Ka-caturtham* v. 4
6. Sushil Malti Devi, 'Irrigation in Northern India from earliest times to 1200 A. D.', *Patna University Journal*, Vol. XVI (1961). I am obliged to Smt. S. M. Devi for arranging to send a typed copy of her article when I could not get the relevant Volume of the Journal.
7. *ṚV*, I.116.9. It speaks of Nāsatyas lifting up the well and setting the base on high to open downwards stream. But the nature of the device employed by Nāsatyas cannot be determined.
8. *ṚV*., X.9.2, 5 makes a general reference to the usefulness of water for crops, but does not give any details about the water-lifting device.
9. निराहावान्कृणोतन संवरत्रा दधातन ।
   सिचामहा अवतमुद्रिणं वयं सुषेकमनूपक्षितम् ॥ X.101.5.

Macdonell and Keith[1] describe the functioning of the artificial well (*avaṭa*) of the passage thus : 'The water was raised by a wheel of stone, to which was fastened a strap with a pail attached to it. When raised it was poured into buckets (*āhāva*) of wood.' G. S. Ghurye[2] makes a valid criticism that the 'statement that the water was raised by means of one pail must be taken to miss the mark ; for if the water was being raised by one pail it could not be so large in quantity that it could be poured out into a number of buckets : He correctly points out that in *Ṛgveda*,[3] 'a number of pails are spoken of as arranged on a strap or belt.' S. A. Dange[4] speaks of buckets, but does not imply that they were joined to form a chain or circle. He envisages an ordinary type of well. Without using any of the names currently employed, Ghurye sees in these passages a reference to the *rahaṭa*[5]. The passages, no doubt, imply a device having some resemblances with the Persian wheel and noria. But, the descriptions are not enough[6] about the functioning of the device. It is quite likely that some parts of it could not find a mention within the scope of the simile used in the passage. In the absence of any reference to the bulls operating the device and to the gearing system, it is not safe to infer the existence of Persian wheel. The straps to which the buckets were fastened would suit more the noria.

प्रीणीताश्वान्हितं जयाथ स्वस्ति वाहं रथमित्कृणुध्वम् ।
द्रोणाहावमवतमश्मचक्रमंसत्रकोशं सिचता नृपाणम् ॥ X.101.7.

The translation of the second part of the second passage as done by S. A. Dange, *Cultural Sources from the Veda*, p. 11 brings out the parts of the water-drawing device more clearly : 'Sprinkle out this well, that is drinkable for men, which is endowed with the wooden-containers, fitted with a stone-wheel and wherein the reservoir is provided with a top-guard'.

1. *Vedic Index*, s. v. *avata.*
2. *Vedic India* (Bombay, 1979), p. 227.
3. X.101.5.
4. *Op. cit.*, p. 11—'The well was provided with a stone wheel from over which water was drawn by means of big wooden buckets tied to a rope. These buckets (or bucket-like containers), when drawn up were poured out in a reservoir to the top of which a device (*sic.*) was attached to guard it against the dashes of the water-drawers'.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 226 : 'This laconic description of the raising of water from natural springs or artificial wells in a metaphor must conjure up before the eyes of an Indian, who has lived in any village, of a large wheel being moved by a bullock going round and round and the row of pots placed in a belt over the wheel coming up full and pouring out their water contents into the channel or tub on the edge of the well'.
6. Sāyaṇa makes the meaning more explicit—

द्रोणाहावम् आह्वयन्त्यत्र पानार्थं बलीबर्दान् इत्याहावो जलाधारः पात्रविशेषः । स च द्रोणमयो द्रुमयम

There is another passage[1], which seems to refer to some sort of a water-wheel. The passage, however, has not been properly studied.[2] On account of the main emphasis in the passage being on Mudgalānī, the significance of the relevant expressions could not be appreciated by R. T. H. Griffith, who translates the passage as follows :

'Like one forsaken, she hath found a husband, and teemed as if her breast were full and flowing. With swiftly-racing chariot may we conquer, and rich and blessed be our gains in battle.'

Sāyaṇa's comments show an effort to bring out the analogy implied in the simile.[3] But, he also fails to appreciate its real implication. The crucial phrase refers to the growth (of plants) when irrigated by the wheel. Sāyaṇa was led away by the word *kū* in *kūcakra*. *Kū* means earth. But we fail to see its connection with *cakra*.[4] It is, however, clear that the simile refers to some device in which a wheel was used for drawing water and which had very healthy results for the plants. But, in the absence of clear indications we cannot describe other characteristic details of the device.

A reference to mechanical devices for lifting water is to be found in the *Arthaśāstra*.[5] It mentions four methods of lifting water : set in motion by hand, set in motion by shoulders, set flowing in channels by a mechanism, and lifted from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells. The first refers to the ordinary method of a person drawing water from a well, etc. with his own hand. In the second, which signifies a *purahaṭa* of modern usage, a bull is yoked to draw water from a well. The third device is termed *srotoyantra* in the text. R. P. Kangle explains it as 'a mechanism for letting water in channels flowing into the fields.' If, along with the earlier two expressions, the third one is also to be taken to

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आहावो यस्य तादृशम् अवतम् अवटवन्निम्नभूतम् अश्मचक्रं व्याप्तक्रमणम् अश्ममयचक्रं वा, अंसत्नकोशम् अंसत्रं कवचं यथा रक्षति तद्वदुदकस्य कोशं कोशस्थानीयम्, नृपाणां नृणां कर्मनेतृणां, पानयोग्यमीदृशमवतं सिंचत ।

The commentary speeks of the rotating stone-wheel.

1. परिवृक्तेव पतिविद्यमानट् पीप्यमाना कूचक्रेणेव सिंचन ।
एषैष्या चिद्रथ्या जयेम सुमङ्गलं सिनवदस्तु सातम् ।। *Ṛv*. X. 102.11.

2. According to S. A. Dange, *Op. cit.*, p. 11 *kūcakra* was the term for a water-wheel, 'a device of circular jars, fitted to the well'.

3. पीप्यमाना वर्धमाना भवति । किमिव । कूचक्रेणेव सिंचत् । कुः पृथिवी । तस्याश्चक्रो वलयः कूचक्रः । तेन वर्षणीयत्वेन निमित्तेन सिञ्चञ्जलं वर्षन्मेघ इव । यथान्तरिक्षे स्वल्पमात्रोऽपि वर्षणसमये महान्भवति तद्वदियमपि शत्रुमध्ये शरधारा वर्षन्ती वर्धत इत्यर्थः ।

4. We wonder if the expression *kūcakra* signified a wheel consisting of earthen jars.

5. II.24.18.

refer to a device for drawing water, then ***srotoyantra*** will mean some mechanism used for this purpose. We admit that there is nothing in the passage to explain its nature and working. We wonder if the first part of the expression (*srotas*) suggests regular flow or supply of water, and implies a device resembling the Persian wheel. The last device referring to the lifting of water from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells is described by using the word *udghāṭam*. As we have seen above, the Sanskrit lexicons explain the term *ghaṭiyantra* as *udghāṭanam* or *udghāṭakam*. The commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra* also explain this device as signifying the water-wheel for raising water from river, etc. The ring of pitchers is the characteristic feature of the *ghaṭiyantra* and can stand alike for a noria and a Persian wheel. But, the term, in a strict sense, particularly when opposed to *araghaṭṭa*, applies to a noria. This will hold good in the present case where the device is associated with rivers, lakes and tanks. We have noticed above that the rim of the wheel in the noria requires a wide and open surface. If this fourth device is taken to stand for a noria, we may hazard that the third refers to something like a Persian wheel.

Thus, we see that the possibility of the use of a water wheel like the noria may be accepted, but whether something like the Persian wheel was also in use is not clear. It is further to be noted that none of the technical terms, *ghaṭiyantra* or *araghaṭṭa*, occurs in the *Arthaśāstra*.

In literature two early references occur in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. The first refers to the maxim of the pitchers in the mechanical device in the well (*kūpa-yantraghaṭikanyāya*) implying thereby that it was an object of common knowledge. It mentions that the device empties some pitchers, fills up others, raises upwards some others, makes others fall downwards and lifts up some others that are filled up.[1] The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* significantly speaks of the pitchers in the *rahaṭṭa* (*rahaṭṭaghaḍiya*), which is among the earliest references to *araghaṭṭa*. It says that the pitchers in this device, after receiving water, raise their faces upwards in a special manner, but, after becoming empty, have their faces downcast for long.[2] The two texts do not give any other detail which

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1. कांश्चित्तुच्छयति प्रपूरयति वा कांश्चिन्नयत्युन्नतिम्
कांश्चित्पातविधौ करोति च पुनः कांश्चिन्नयत्याकुलान् ।
अन्योन्यप्रतिपक्षसंहतिमिमां लोकस्थितिं बोधय-
न्नेषः क्रीडति कूपयन्त्रघटिकान्यायप्रसक्तो विधिः ।। X.59.
2. उअअं लहिउण उताणि अणण्णा होन्ति केवि सविसेसम् ।
रित्ता णमन्ति सुद्दूरं रहट्टवड़िअ व्व कापुरिसा ।। V. 90.

may help us identify the device. The descriptions can be applicable both to the Persian wheel and the noria.[1] However, there is a minor point in the *Gāthāsaptaśati* which may favour a Persian wheel against the noria. The text says that the pitchers, after pouring out the water, have their mouths downwards for a very long period (*suciram*). In the noria the pitchers attached to the rim of the wheel do not take long to reach the water level after emptying themselves, the distance involved being one-fourth of the circumference of the wheel. But, in the Persian wheel the pitchers are attached to ropes, which hang longitudinally, and hence they have to cover a long distance, equal to the depth of the well, to get filled up. The same point is possibly suggested when the text earlier refers to the filled up pitchers keeping their mouths upwards in a special manner (*saviśeṣam*).

Thus, these passages, particularly the one in the *Gāthāsaptaśati*, make a good case for the existence of a device resembling the Persian wheel and also for the early usage of the name *araghaṭṭa* (or *rahaṭṭa*).

The earliest epigraphical reference to the use of Persian wheel has been traced by M. C. Joshi[2] in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman dated in the Mālava Era 589 (=A. D. 532).[3] Joshi proposes to translate the verse in question as follows :

'As long as the ocean, with its long arm of tidal waves, embraces the full moon, glowing with its rays (and) growing lovelier from the association (with the sea), keeps friendship (with the moon), so long this fine well, having the elevational grace (charm of

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Gaṅgādhara in his commentary qoutes a verse from an earlier text with similar meaning and information, but without naming his source—

जीवनग्रहेण नम्रा गृहीत्वा पुनरुन्नताः ।
किं कनिष्ठाः किमु ज्येष्ठा घटीयन्त्रस्य दुर्जनाः ॥

The verse appears in the *Kuvalayānanda* (N. S. P. edition, 1955), p. 25 in connection with the illustration of *Sandehālaṅkāra*.

1. A. L. Basham in a personal correspondance writes : 'I have always felt that the last verse of *Mṛcchakaṭika* must refer to the Persian wheel, or something very like it'.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 241-17.

3. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp. 150 ff, verse 27.

यावत्तुङ्गैरुदन्वान्किरणसमुदयं सङ्गकान्तं तरङ्गै–
रालिङ्गन्निन्दुबिम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुवृत्ताम् ।
बिभ्रत्सौधान्तलेखावलयपरिगतिं मुण्डमालामिवायं
सत्कूपस्तावदास्ताममृतसमरसस्वच्छविष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥

line) of a mansion, with a rotary motion (moving-ring) resembling a garland of skulls, would survive discharging nectar like pure water.'[1]

M. C. Joshi has succeeded in pointing out the reference to the water-lifting device associated with the well. But we do not agree with his interpretation of the second part of the verse and the features of the well mentioned therein. Actually the verse refers to only one aspect of it, its revolving movement (*valayaparigati*). The earlier words in the compound expression (*saudhāntalekhā*) give details of the rotary movement and the following expression (*muṇḍamālāmiva*) offers a simile to elucidate it. The translation proposed by M. C. Joshi refers to two features of the well and thus militates against the form and construction of the expressions in the third line of the verse. The term *saudha* (from *sudhā* meaning white-wash, plaster, mortar, cement) refers to a stuccoed mansion, any fine house, a palace. The *anta* can refer to the end, extreme or top of the palace depending on our considering the extension horizontally or vertically. A happier sense follows if the word *anta* is taken to signify 'top'. In that case the relevant passage can be translated as 'possessing the rotary motion of a series of pitchers[2] resembling a garland of skulls'. The simile here gives a happier and fuller meaning. The skulls resemble the pitchers. In this translation we are able to retain a reference to the most important feature of the well, namely, its rotary movement.

The inscription employs the adjective *viṣyanditāmbuḥ* for the well (*kūpa*). It carries the sense that water was being made to flow rapidly and constantly.[3] This will not hold good for an ordinary well with the usual device for drawing water, but will imply the use of a device similar to that of a Persian wheel or noria.

M. C. Joshi infers from the 'reference to the elevational aspect of the well and the rotary motion', that by the time the inscription was composed 'the employment of the Persian wheel in wells was not a very popular means for drawing water either due to its recent introduction in Malawa region or on account of its being quite expensive.' But, the force of the argument is not so compelling. The object of the present inscription is to record the construction of a well. It is quite natural that the composer of the inscrip-

1. Fleet failed to realise the correct meaning of the verse and the significant details of the water-drawing device associated with the well. Joshi improves the translation, particularly the meaning of the expressions *saudhāntalekhāvalayaparigati* and *muṇḍamālā*.
2. The poet sems to use the word *saudhānta* in the sense of *Kalaśa*. *Kalaśa* refers to a pitcher, but is also an architectural term to signify the top rounded pinnacles crowning the *Caitya*-s, *Devagraha*-s and *Prāsāda*-s.
3. *Viṣyandita* is derived from the root *syand* which, according to Monier-Williams (*Op. cit.*, p. 1273, col. 1), means 'to move or flow, stream, run, drive (in a carriage), rush, hasten, speed....; to discharge liquid, trickle, ooze, drip, sprinkle, pour forth.....'

tion should make some reference to the main object. Within the limited space of half of a verse and the poetic style, he refers to the prominent feature of the well, its chain of pots and its rotation. Admittedly the technical terms *ghaṭiyantra* and *araghaṭṭa* do not occur in the inscription, but references to them are found in other earlier sources. Their absence cannot be interpreted to suggest anything about their first appearance; it was possibly dictated by the exegesis of metre.

Our analysis of the literary references to *araghaṭṭa* and *ghaṭiyantra* has helped us in understanding the nature of the water-lifting device in ancient India. The confusion in regard to terminology exists in the Persian literature and the writings of English scholars, and has persisted in India down to the present time. It is, therefore, no wonder that the same term has been used to refer to more than one similar device, even though they differ in essential details. When we consider the wide area and the long period involved, the possibility of variations, change or improvement being introduced becomes strong. In the literary references only those details of the analogy, which are relevant to the philosophical idea being enunciated, are mentioned; the absence of a reference to any particular detail of the device can be conclusive only when it is demonstrated that the reference was imperative in the context of the passage.

There is a good case for believing that a water-lifting device, resembling in essentials the Persian wheel, was in vogue in ancient India. The term *araghaṭṭa* had a wider connotation. It generally signified a well fitted with the device, and covered all its component parts. The association of *araghaṭṭa* with a well is mentioned in many passages, one of which says that the well was a deep one. The *ghaṭīyantra*, the chain of pots, denoted the main part of the device. This usage of the two terms is made clear by the *Upamitibhavaprapañca Kathā*. The chain of pots is mentioned as mounted on the wheel and as quite separate from the wheel. The description does not suit noria in which the pots are attached to the rim of the wheel. The reference to the long ropes also favours the case of the Persian wheel.

No doubt, there is no clear reference to the gear system in the water-lifting device. But we do not have either a reference to the rotation of the wheel through manual labour. In this connection, we have to note that the *Upamitibhavaprapañca Kathā* implies that there were many other parts of the device, besides those specifically mentioned. The text further refers to the use of the bullocks. There are many references to the device revolving continuously. If the device is manually managed, there will naturally be recurrence of breaks in the rotation movement, the chances of which are considerably reduced in the case of the gear system, in which the outermost wheel is set in motion by the bullocks. The reference in Śaṅkara's *Upadeśasāhasrī* to the *ghaṭiyantra* revolving through its own action is also significant.

We have seen that though the precise nature of the water-lifting devices mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Arthaśāstra* is not clear, the *Cullavagga*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Kuvalayānanda* refer to a device resembling the Persian wheel with a rotary movement of a contrivance consisting of pitchers. The suggestion of the device being nearer to the Persian wheel than to the noria is clearer in the *Gāthāsaptaśati*, *Pañcatantra*, the writings of Bāṇa and the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman. The term *araghaṭṭa* came into circulation sometime after the introduction of the device. The earliest references in the *Gāthāsaptaśati*, *Pañcatantra* and *Samantapāsādikā*. Amarasiṁha, the lexicographer, was evidently ignorant about the term. Considering all this we can say that for the introdution of the *araghaṭṭa* device a date in the fourth century or a little earlier may not be far from the truth. The term is known to occur first in the *Gāthāsaptaśati* which is ascribed to king Hāla of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Its occurrence in a simile requires long years of use for becoming part of common knowledge. Hence, for the introduction of the device a date in the first century B. C. cannot be ruled out. But, in the absence of a clear and direct reference we cannot dogmatise about the date.

THE OCCURRENCE OF THE TITLE MAHĀRĀJA IN EARLY INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS

A. N. Lahiri

The monarchical form of government prevailed in India long before the accession of Bimbisāra in the sixth century B. C. In fact, kingship was an established institution in ancient India. There were various terms to denote kingship, and *rājan* ('king') was the earliest and commonest of them all. Besides others, *samrāṭ*, *vairāṭ* and *svarāṭ* are sometimes met with in ancient Indian texts; and each of them appears to have denoted different form of royal title[1].

But the most conspicuous of the regal terms, other than *rājan*, was *mahārāja*, meaning 'great king'. It would be interesting to see how the title *mahārāja* came to be in wide use in India's early literary texts, inscriptions and coins.

The *Ṛgveda* makes repeated use of the term *rājan* but never of *mahārāja*. In fact, *mahārāja* does not appear to have been used in any one of the Vedic Saṁhitās. It is only in the Brāhmaṇas that the word *mahārāja* first makes its appearance. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2], for example, occurs the title *mahārāja* :

> "*Mahendrāyeti kurvantīndra vā eṣa purā Vṛtrasya vadhādatha Vṛtra |*
> *Hatvā yathā mahārājo vijigyāna evam Mahendro bhavat ||*

Thus, starting with the Brāhmaṇas, the title *mahārāja* regularly appears in the Upaniṣads and later texts.

However, while the term *mahārāja* was first used in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in the eighth or seventh century B. C., we do not find its use in any early historic document until the advent of the Greeks in India in the second century before Christ.

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1. Cf. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th Edn., pp. 158 for elucidation.
2. I.6.4.21.

Even the great Maurya monarch Aśoka, whose dominions covered the greater part of the Indian sub-continent and with whom virtually started India's epigraphical era, did not call himself *mahārāja* in any of his abundant inscriptions written in Prākṛt, Aramaic and Greek; for, in almost all his epigraphs he is described as *rājan*[1]. Indeed, such was also the case with early Greek and Macedonian monarchs. In early times they did not even assume any royal title: Philip, the illustrious father of Alexander the Great, did not use any, nor did Alexander himself, prior to 330 B. C.[2], after which date he assumed the simple royal title *basileus*, meaning 'king'[3].

The Graeco-Bactrian monarch Eucratides I Megas, who conquered territories in India proper, was evidently the first to describe himself as *mahārāja*[4]. But he, too did not use the title *mahārāja* from the very beginning of his regal career in India; for, his 20-*rati* bilingual Indian *drachm*-s in silver, which were undoubtedly his earliest issues in India, did not style him as *mahārāja*: his title on those silver coins is merely *rājan* (equivalent to Greek *basileus*, 'king'). It is interesting to see how the compound word *mahārāja* (=*mahān rājā*) ultimately found its place on the later copper coins of Eucratides I.

It was to mark his Indian conquest and for the benefit of his new Indian subjects that Eucratides I issued coins with Prākṛt legends[5] along with the Greek ones. Incidentally, he was one of the world's first three kings to issue bilingual coins in India.[6] However, the Greek legend adorning the reverse of Eucratides's earlier Bactrian issues was transferred to the obverse, while on the reverse was introduced a literal Prākṛt translation of the obverse Greek legend. On the light-weight 20 *rati* Indian *drachm*-s, which were incidentally also introduced by Eucratides I himself and which were evidently his initial

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1. Cf., e.g., the beginning of Aśoka's First Rock Edict: (Girnar version) : *Iyam dhaṁma-lipi Devānāmpiyena Piyadasinā rāñā lekhāpitā*. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1st Edn. (*SI*[1]), p. 16.
2. Alexander's coins issued prior to 330 B. C. bore the criptic Greek legend, *Alexandrou* ('Of Alexander'), just like his father's coins which had the legend, *Philippou* ('Of Philip'): see C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, 2nd Edn. (*GC*[2]), p. 211 and Pl.XLVIII.1-2, 5-6 for the former legend and Pl.XLVII.3-4 for the latter.
3. See *GC*[2], Pl.XLVIII.4 and Pl.XLIX.3-4.
4. See A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (*CIGC*), p. 39.
5. See *CIGC*, pp. 126 ff., Types 14 to 21 for Eucratides' bilingual coins with Greek and Prākṛt legends.
6. Of the three kings, Pantaleon and Agathocles used the Brāhmī script for writing the Prākṛt legends of their coins (*CIGC*, Pl.XXVII.11 and Pl.II.9), while Eucratides used the Kharoṣṭhī script to do so. All of them rendered the Greek title *basileus* by *rājan*. Cf. A. N. Lahiri, "Who struck the First Indo-Greek Bilingual Coins? in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1964. pp. 142 ff.

Indian issues[1], the obverse Greek legend, *Basileōs megalou Eukratidou* ('Of king Eucratides the Great') was rendered w o r d f o r w o r d into Prākṛt as *Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa* and written on the reverse, as just noted. But on all but one type of his subsequent copper coinage the two Greek words *basileus* ('king') and *megas* ('great') were rendered by a single (compound) word *mahā-rāja* ('great king')[2], which is but an amalgamation of the two words *rājan* (=*basileus*) and *mahataka* (=*megas*), as seen on the Indian *drachm*-s. Thus, Eucratides I who called himself both *basileus* and *megas* in Greek *ultimately* became *mahārāja* in the Prākṛt legend, and *mahārāja* literally means 'great king' (*mahān-rājā*).

None of the Greek, Scythian and Parthian kings who came after Eucratides I, followed him in translating the Greek word *basileus* as *rājan*: they i n v a r i a b l y rendered that word by the compound word *mahārāja,* even though they did not use the word *megas* ('great') along with the title *basileus,* as did Eucratides I. A few kings like Greek Hippostratus and Scythian Azes I, who assumed the epithet *megas,* rendered it s e p a r a t e l y as *mahataka* or *mahata,* without affecting the regal title, which was, as usual, *mahārāja,* the popular Indian term for the simple Greek regal term *basileus,* meaning 'king', not 'great king'[3]. Thus, the Greek legend of the coins of the Graeco-Indian king Hippostratus, *Basileōs megalou soteros Ippostratou* ('Of king Hippostratus the Great [and*] Saviour') was translated in Prākṛt as *Maharajasa tratarasa mahatasa jayaṁtasa*[4] *Hipustratasa.*

We may incidentally note that Eucratides I was also the first Greek king to assume the lofty epithet *megas*, meaning 'great'. Of course, he did not describe himself as 'great' from the very beginning of his regal career. In Bactria, where he assumed his regal power and continued to rule for quite a long time before his conquests of Indian territories, his initial coins bore the simple Greek legend *Basileos Eukratidou* ('Of king Eucratides')[5]. Before long, however, he adopted the grandiloquent epithet *megas*, and legend of his coins invariably read *Basileōs megalou Eukratidou* ('Of king Eucratides the Great'). But, curiously enough, Charles Seltman, while commenting on the assumption of the epithet *megas* by Eucratides, made a wrong observation. "He (Eucratides)", said Seltman, "was the first Greek king to describe himself 'Great' upon a coin, but this was merely because *Basileōs megalou* was the translation of *mahārajasa* and was, therefore, no

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1. Cf. *CIGC*, p. 39 and p. 126, Type 14.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 127 ff., Types 16 to 21.
3. *Ibid.* p. 145, Type 7 (Hippostratus) and R. B. Whitehead, *Punj. Mus. Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 104 (Azes I).
4. *Ibid.* p. 145, Type 7 : the (reverse) Prākṛt legend includes an extra epithet, *jayaṁtasa*, for which there is no Greek equivalent in the obverse Greek version.
5. *Ibid.* p. 120 f., Types 2-7.

mere piece of bombast"[1]. This statement of a great numismatist like Charles Seltman is unfortunate indeed. The Indian compound word *mahārāja* was not at all responsible for Eucratides's adoption of the Greek epithet *megas* ('great'); for, on most of his monolingual coins that he issued in Bactria prior to his issue of bilingual coins in India bear for him the epithet *megas*. And, as already noted, in India itself his initial bilingual Indian *drachm*-s in silver did not bear the word *mahārāja* as a rendering of *Basileous megas*, but the title *rājan* and the epithet *mahataka* were separately used as the respective equivalents to his u s u a l Greek royal title *basileus* and epithet *megas*. In fact, 'King Eucratides, the Great' (*Raja Evukratida mahataka*) became *Mahārāja Evukratida* only at the last stage of his career in India—and that, too, l o n g a f t e r his adoption of the bombastic and grandiloquent epithet *megas* in Bactria itself. Eucratides's adoption of the epithet *megas* was probably due to Persian influence; for *vazrka*, 'great', was the epithet of Darius, the 'king of kings' *khṣāyathiya khṣāyathiānām*), long before the advent of Eucratides[2].

However, with its introduction on coins by Eucratides, the title *mahārāja* gained universal currency amongst foreign kings of India, who ruled a f t e r Eucratides. The Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāna rulers almost invariably called themselves *mahārājā*-s not only on their abundant coins but also on their inscriptions. The Kharoṣṭhī record on the Shinkon (Bajaur) Relic Casket described Menander (I) as a *mahārāja*.[3] Similarly, the Brāhmī inscription on Heliodours's Besnagar pillar called the Graeco-Indian king Antialcidas *mahārāja*[4]. Later epigraphs of the Parthian and Kuṣāna rulers of India made repeated use of the title *mahārāja* in respect of the concerned kings. But the Western Satraps, also of Scytho-Parthian extraction, often used the simple title *rājan* (not *mahārāja*) along with the satrapal one, viz. *kṣatrapa* or *mahākṣatrapa*[5]. Only one satrap, Rudrasena III, was referred to as *mahārāja* (instead of *rājan*) in the legend of some coins of his sister's son Siṁhasena.[6]

The use of the title *mahārāja* was rather sporadic amongst early Indian kings until the advent of the great Gupta monarchs, after whom almost anybody with any pretension of royalty would assume the title *mahārāja*. However, the so-called Local and Tribal

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1. *GC*², p. 235.
2. See Sircar, *SI*¹, p. 3.
3. *SI*¹, p. 102.
4. *SI*¹, pp. 90-91. Significantly enough, Bhāgabhadra, the Indian king of Vidisā, is styled as *rājan* (not *mahārāja* like the Greek king Antialcidas of Taxila).
5. Cf. the legends of the coins of Western Satraps in E. J. Rapson's *Brit. Mus. Cat.* (*Andhra*), [henceforth cited as *BMC*(*A*)], pp. 65 ff.
6. See *BMC*(*A*), p. 190, Pl.XVII.906 (cf. also p. cxlvii).

rulers, whose number was almost countless, very seldom adopted any royal title. Only a few of them used the title *rājan* on their rare inscriptions.[1] The Kuṇinda chief Amoghabhūti alone adopted the title *mahārāja*[2], while a series of anonymous Yaudheya coins of about the first century B. C. bear the title *mahārāja*[3]. A coin of an otherwise unknown king, Apalata by name, bears for him the title *mahārāja* in characters of about the first century A. D.[4].

A few other sporadic but somewhat earlier uses of the title *mahārāja* are also known. Two Kaliṅga kings called themselves *mahārāja*-s. They are Khāravela of the Hāthīgumphā and Vakradeva of the Mañcapurī inscriptions[5]. In this connection it will be interesting to note that a king of Ceylon, Tiṣya Abhaya (c. 2nd Century B. C.) also adorned himself with the title *mahārāja*, as is known from his Āṇḍiya-kāṇḍa cave inscription[6]. *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsenāpati* occur as well in an early Yaudheya inscription from Vijayagarh[7].

However, as it appears, it was after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas, who made use of high-sounding regal titles and epithets like *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra* and *kaisara* (Ceasar or Kaisar), that *mahārāja* gained some popularity amongst Indian princes[8]. The Meghas of Kauśāmbī who used the Śaka era after the Kuṣāṇas, called themselves *mahārāja*-s in their inscriptions[9]. The coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (near Gwalior) invariably refer to them as *maharāja*-s[10]. Early Vākāṭak kings were also *mahārāja*-s: while Vindhyaśakti was *dharma-mahārāja*, Pravarasena I called himself both *mahārāja*, and *samrāṭ*[11].

In certain parts of Western and Southern India, however, the occurrence of the title *mahārāja* became rather more common since about the second century A.D. Though

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1. Very important local princes like 'Dhanadeva of Kauśambī', (*BMC, A1*, Pl.XX.12), 'Rāmadatta of Mathurā' (*BMC, A1*, Pl.XXIV.13), and Tribal chiefs like 'Audumbara Dharaghoṣa' (*BMC, A1*, Pl.XIV.14) and 'Kulūta Vīrayaśas' (*BMC, A1*, Pl.XVI.4) called themselves *rājan*.
2. *BMC(A1)*, p. 159, No. 1 Pl.XXII.1
3. *Ibid.* p 266, No. 11 Pl.XXXIX.10.
4. *Ibid.* pp· lxxx-lxxxii and 182, No. 80 Pl.XXIX.24.
5. *SI*[1], p. 207 (Khāravela) and p. 214 (Vakradeva).
6. *Ibid.* p. 232.
7. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 252.
8. See *SI*[1], as borne by Kaniṣka II.
9. See, e.g., inscription of Bhadramagha, *SI*[1], p. 365.
10. Cf. the legends of the Nāga kings in H. V. Trivedi's *Cat. of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*, pp. 1 ff.
11. See *SI*[1], p. 407 (Vindhyaśakti) and p. 419 (Pravarasena).

the Sātavāhana kings used only the lesser title *rājan*[1] (not *mahārāja*) on their inscriptions and coins, kings of the succeeding or later families almost freely used the title *mahārāja*. The Ikṣvāku kings were almost always referred to as *mahārāja*-s, while they themselves used the lesser title *rājan*[2]. An otherwise unknown king Mānasada who ruled in the region of Veḷupuru in Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, is styled as *mahārāja* in his Veḷupuru inscription, assignable to the middle of the second century A. D. on palaeographical grounds[3]. The Seal of Koṇḍamuḍi plates of the Bṛhatphalāyana prince Jayavarman describes him as *mahārāja* inspite of the fact that he is called simply *rājan* in the body of the epigraph[4]. In both the Mayidāvalu and the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi inscriptions of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman the term *mahārāja* occurs in conjunction with other words—and he is called *dharma-mahārāja* in the former and *yuva-mahārāja* in the latter[5]. The Traikūṭaka kings Dahrasena and Vyāghrasena assumed the title *mahārāja* in the legends of their coins[6].

The Gupta kings invariably called themselves *mahārāja*-s besides bearing other high-sounding epithets[7]. They were mighty monarchs; and were naturally eminently entitled to their use. But the title *mahārāja* became very cheap after the decline of the Guptas.

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1. Cf. the legends of the coins of the Sātavāhana kings in E. J. Rapson's *BMC(A)*, pp. 1 ff.
2. Cf. *SI*[1], p. 224 (*rājan*) and p. 219 (*mahārāja*).
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, p. 82.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.
5. *SI*[1], p. 437 (*dharma-mahārāja*) and p. 433 (*yuva-mahārāja*).
6. *BMC(A)*, p. 198, Pl.XVIII.930 (Dahrasena) and p. 202, Pl.XVII.975 (Vyāghrasena).
7. Cf., e.g., the titles and epithets of Kumāragupta I. *Paramadaivata-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* : *SI*[1], p. 280.

NEW LIGHT ON YAŚODHARMAN

V. V. Mirashi

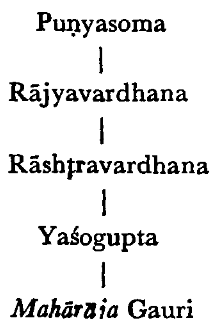
The name of Yaśodharman is well known in the ancient history of India as the redoubtable vanquisher of the Hūṇa King Mihirakula who had a large part of North India under his rule. Nothing was known about his predecessors and successors. Thus K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says, 'Yaśodharman of Mālwā stands alone without a predecessor or a successor'[1]. R. C. Majumdar agrees and says that 'Yaśodharman rose and fell like a meteor'. He concedes that Yaśodharman may have had some connection with the family of feudatory chiefs who were ruling over Mālwā, or a part of it, under the Imperial Guptas, but nothing is known of this family for nearly a century when Yaśodharman suddenly rose to power.[2] All scholars agree that he ruled from Mandasor (ancient Daśapura) where he raised two monolithic pillars commemorating his victory over the Hūṇa King Mihirakula. They take the *praśasti* on those Victory Pillars as affirming that he conquered countries which had not submitted even to the Guptas and the Hūṇas[3]. During the last quarter of a century some fresh historical material has come to light which necessitates the revision of these conclusions about Yaśodharman. It is proposed to examine them critically in the light of it.

When Fleet edited the Mandasor stone inscription of the Mālava Saṁvat 589, he thought that Yaśodharman was different from Vishṇuvardhana. The former was described as a *janendra* or 'a tribal chief', and the latter as *Rājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara.* In spite of this, Fleet thought that 'Vishṇuvardhana appeared to have acknowledged a certain amount of supremacy on the part of Yaśodharman.'[4] This is self-contradictory. None now differentiates between them.

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1. *History of India—Part I—Ancient India,* p. 137.
2. *History and Culture of the Indian People* (*HCIP*) III. p. 40.
3. *Loc. cit.*
4. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII*). III (first ed.), p. 151.

In the time of Fleet none knew of any predecessors of Yaśodharman. The Gandhār stone inscription[1] dated Mālava saṁvat 480 indeed mentions Naravarman and Viśvavarman, and the Mandasor stone inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 493 and 529 names Bandhuvarman, but as their family was not mentioned in those records they were not then known as the ancestors of Yaśodharman who belonged to the Aulikara family as stated in the Mandasor inscription of Mālva Saṁvat 589.[2] Further light on this question was thrown by the discovery of the Bihār Kotrā (Rājgaḍh State, Mālwā) stone inscription[3] which mentioned the following genealogy—Jayavarman, Siṁhavaraman and Naravarman and what is even more important, the name of their family as *Aulikara*. Later, some more stone inscriptions of the Mānavāyani feudatory family owning allegiance to those Aulikaras were discovered at Chhoṭi Sādri[4] (near Neemach on the Ajmer-Khāṇḍwā Railway Line) and at Mandasor,[5] from which we came to know the following genealogy :—

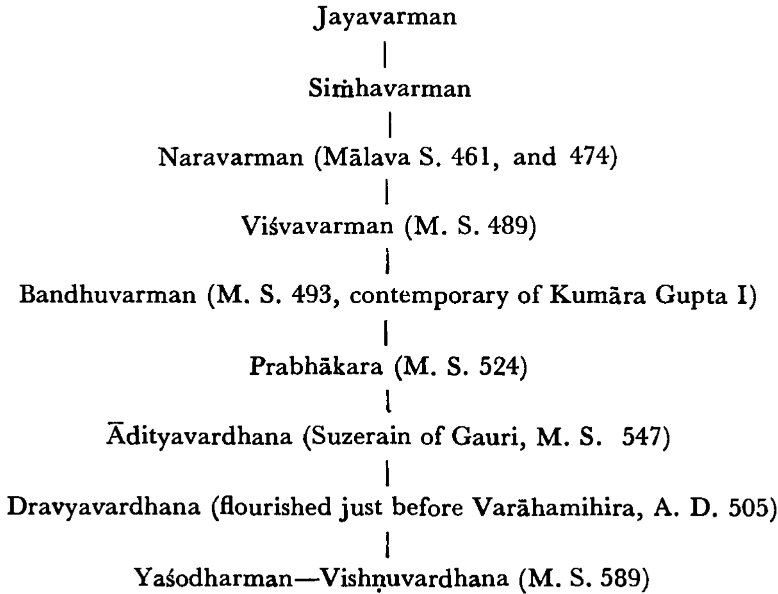


The Mandasor inscription shows that the last of these princes was a feudatory of Ādityavardhana, who, from his name and the date of the inscription (M. S. 547), appears to be of the Aulikara family. Again, from a passage in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* we have shown[6] that another king named Dravyavardhana, probably of the Aulikara family, flourished just before the time of Varāhamihira (A. D. 505). As Yaśodharman flourished in *circa* A. D. 530, he must have been the successor (probably the son) of this Dravyavardhana.

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1. *Ibid.* III. pp. 72 ff.
2. See प्रख्यात औलिकरलाञ्छन आत्मवंशो येनोदितोदितपदं गमितो गरीयः। *CII.* III. p. 153.
3. *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*). XXVI. pp. 130 f. Rajgaṛh lies about a hundred miles east of Mandasor.
4. *EI.* XXX. pp. 120 f.
5. *Ibid.* XXX. pp. 127 ff.
6. See our *Studies in Indology* (*SI*), I (second ed.), pp. 225 f.

One more king, viz. Prabhākara who is said to have fought with the enemies of the Guptas[1] may have belonged to this Aulikara family, though one cannot be quite certain about it. The genealogy of these Aulikaras can, therefore, be stated as follows, with their known dates :—


Jayavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Naravarman (Mālava S. 461, and 474)
|
Viśvavarman (M. S. 489)
|
Bandhuvarman (M. S. 493, contemporary of Kumāra Gupta I)
|
Prabhākara (M. S. 524)
|
Ādityavardhana (Suzerain of Gauri, M. S. 547)
|
Dravyavardhana (flourished just before Varāhamihira, A. D. 505)
|
Yaśodharman—Vishṇuvardhana (M. S. 589)

We have shown from the recently discovered inscriptions of Gauri that his family was previously ruling from Choṭi Sādri, where he is known to have built a temple of Devi; but later, he shifted his seat of government to Daśapura.[2] This was because the Aulikara kings who were previously ruling from there transferred their capital to Ujjayinī. This is clearly stated in the following verses in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* about king Dravyavardhana :

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1. *EI.* XXVII. pp. 12 ff. Prabhākara's name does not resemble those of most other members of the Aulikara family. But his date (M. S. 524) falls between M. S. 493 of Bandhuvarman and M. S. 547 of Ādityavardhana. He does not date his record in the Gupta era, and his stone inscription was found at Mandasor, which was the earlier capital of the Aulikaras. His inscription mentions Chandragupta II and Govindagupta not as his suzerains but by way of introducing Vāyurakshita, the father of Dattabhaṭa, his general at Daśapura. The mention of the Gupta princes is no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Like Yaśordharman, he may have had another name ending in *vardhana*.
2. See *SI.* I (first ed.), pp. 223 ff.

यच्छक्रशुक्रवागीशकपिष्ठिलगरुत्मनाम् ।
मतेभ्यः प्राह ऋषभो भागुरेर्देवलस्य च ॥ १॥
भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।
आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥२॥
सप्तर्षीणां मतं यच्च संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च यत् ।
यानि चोक्तानि गर्गाद्यैर्यात्राकारैश्च भूरिभिः ॥३॥
तानि दृष्ट्वा चकारेमं सर्वशाकुनसंग्रहम् ।
वराहमिहिरः प्रीत्या शिष्याणां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥४॥

Dravyavardhana is called *Āvantika* or the ruler of Avanti (Ujjayinī). Yaśodharman, his successor, evidently ruled from the same city.

From the beginning these Aulikaras were politically independent. All their records are dated in the Mālava era. None of them, with the single exception of the Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 493, mentions any Gupta king. It is a well known fact that all feudatories of the Guptas invariably dated their records in the Gupta era. Bandhuvarman's Mandasor inscription,[1] no doubt, mentions the name of Kumāragupta I, but that was not incised in his reign. It was engraved thirty-six years after the first date mentioned in it, when neither Bandhuvarman not Kumāragupta I was living. And even then its dates are recorded in the Mālava Saṁvat, not in the Gupta Saṁvat. Daśapura, where the predecessors of Adityavardhana[2] were ruling lies only about 75 miles north of Ujjayinī, the capital of the contemporary Gupta kings. But they did not submit to the Gupta rulers, and not date their records in the Gupta era, which was a token of Gupta suzerainty.[3] They were proud of this independent status. See what Yaśodharman says in the inscription on his Victory Pillars[4] :

ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्तिदृष्टप्रतापै—
र्नाज्ञा हूणाधिपानां क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान्धन्वशैलद्रुमगहनसरिद्वीरबाहूपगूढा—
न्वीर्य्यावस्कन्दराज्ञः स्वगृहपरिसराबज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥४॥

This verse is usually taken to mean that Yaśodharman's empire was larger than those of the Guptas and the Hūṇas. This is an erroneous interpretation of the verse. Fleet translated *bhunakti* in the verse as 'enjoys' but this is against Pāṇini's rule that the root

1. *CII*. II (first ed.), pp. 79 ff.
2. See *ŚI*. I (second ed.), pp. 223 ff.
3. Besides, these Aulikara kings do not indicate their feudatory status by using such expressions as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka—Pādānudhyāta* indicative of such status.
4. *CII*. III. p, 146.

bhuj takes the Ātmanepada in all senses except that of 'protection'[1]. As the Parasmaipada is used in this verse, *bhunakti* signifies 'protection'. What is intended to be conveyed is that Yaśodharman protects the countries under his rule which had not been conquered either by the Guptas or by the Hūṇas, with as little concern as he feels for the environs of his own house.[2] None (neither the Guptas nor the Hūṇas) had dared to attack these countries though they had large empires in other parts of North India or had vanquished other kings. This is a challenging statement of an indomitable warrior.

As a matter of fact, Yaśodharman did not then have an empire larger than those of the Guptas and Hūṇas. He, no doubt, won over several eastern and northern rulers by persuasion or force as stated in the Mandasor inscription[3] of Mālava Saṁvat 589, but when the victory pillars were erected he could not have had an empire larger than that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas. As he won a memorable victory over the Hūṇa king who was regarded as a very powerful tyrant, rulers from different parts of the country—extending from Assam to Andhra and from the Himālayas to the Western sea—rushed to Daśapura to congratulate him and to bow to his feet in token of their submission to him.[4] There is undoubtedly some exaggeration in this description of the incident such as is often noticed in *praśasti*-s, but it does not signify his conquest of those vast territories. The victory pillars were evidently erected within a year or two after the defeat of Mihirakula.[5] The interval was not sufficient for the conquest of the vast territories mentioned in the vərse.

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1. भुजोऽनवने 1. 3. 66.
2. Fleet's translation of *sva-gṛha-parisar-āvajñayā* as 'spuring (*the confinement of*) the boundaries of his own house'—misses the intended meaning. Yaśodharman had not to make any special effort to protect his country as he did not do for the protection of the courtyard of his own house; for his subjects were brave and freedom-loving.
3. See प्राचो नृपान् सुबृहतश्च बहूनुदीचान् साम्ना युधा च वशगान् प्रविधाय येन…। *CII.* III. p. 153. The eastern kings were the Guptas and the northern were probably the Hūṇas or their feudatories. Toramāṇ's own inscription has been discovered at Eraṇ in the Sāgar District of Madhya Pradesh (*CII.* III. 158 ff.) and those of his feudatories of Śivabhāgapura have recently been found in the Panchmahāl District of Gujarat. So a large belt of territory in Central India extending from Northern Gujarāt to the Sāgar District was in the occupation of the Hūṇas. So the Hūṇas were probably the kings north of the kingdom of the Aulikaras.
4. *CII.* III. p. 146.
5. As we have shown elsewehre see the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, (*JOI*). Mihirakula was defeated in *circa* A. D. 530, while the Mandasor inscription which records the erection of the victory pillars is probably of A. D. 532. There was, therefore, no time for the subjugation of the whole of North India from the Himalayas and Assam to Mahendra mountain and the Western Sea between these two dates.

The question now remains, why were the pillars erected at Mandasor ? It was previously believed that Yaśodharman was ruling from Daśapura and so he erected them at his capital; but the passage cited above from the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* shows clearly that Dravyavardhana and, therefore, his successor Yaśodharman too were ruling from Ujjayinī. If Yaśodharman wanted to erect the pillars at his capital, he would have done so at that city. Instead of it, he chose to erect them at Daśapura. There must be some reason for it. Let us try to find it out if possible.

Till recently, only two inscriptions of the Hūṇas from North India were known. viz. (I) the Eraṇ inscription[1] of Toramāṇa dated in the first regnal year and (2) the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula dated in the fifteenth regnal year.[2] Recently, three copper-plate grants of the rulers of Śivabhāgapura were found at Sanjeli in the Pañchmahāl District of Gujarāt.[3] They give the following genealogy of these kings—

Mahārāja Mātṛdāsa I
|
(son)
Mahārāja Bhūta
|
(son)
Mahārāja Mātṛidāsa II

We have shown elsewhere[4] that *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa I was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Gupta King. His son Bhūta transferred his allegiance to Toramāṇa, when he conquerred the neighbouring country. He states in his copper-Plate grant that he had obtained his kingdom by the favour of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Toramāṇa. His successor Mātṛdāsa II was also a feudatory like him, but his suzerain was probably Mihirakula as we have shown elsewhere. These feudatories of the Hūṇas were ruling over the territory of Śivabhagapura (Pañchamahāl) District of Gujarat, and so they were the Western neighbours of the Mānavāyanis ruling over Daśapura after their suzerain Ādityavardhana shifted his capital Ujjayinī. When Yaśodharman began to extend his kingdom by conquering the eastern and northern kings as stated in the Mandasor inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 589 (A. D. 533-34), he must have come into conflict with these

1. *CII.* III. pp. 158 ff.
2. *Ibid.* III. p. 162.
3. See M. S. Univ. Arch. Series, No. 14.
4. See our article in the forthcoming issue of *JOI*,

feudatories of the Hūṇas or the Hūṇas themselves,[1] who were ruling in Central India. The Hūṇas may have retaliated by invading Daśapura, the capital of Yaśodharman's feudatories, viz. the Mānavāyanis. The latter appealed to their suzerain Yaśodharman for help. A sanguinary battle was apparently fought at Daśapura in which Yaśodharman inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūṇa invader Mihirakula and forced him to worship his feet with the garlands on his head. When the news of this grand victory over the mighty and oppressive tyrant spread far and wide like wild fire, rulers from the different parts of North India who had previously been terrorised by Mihirakula assembled at Daśapura to offer sumbmission to Yaśodharman and hail him as their Suzerain. Such seems to be the sequence of events that happened in those days.

As stated before, all inscriptions of the Aulikaras and their Mānavāyani feudatories are dated in the Mālava Saṁvat. This Saṁvat was known as *Kṛta* and was used by the Mālavas in dating their events. It would not be out of place to consider how the Aulikaras came to use it in their records.

It is now proved that this *Kṛta* era is identical with the Vikrama Saṁvat, which name it acquired in later times. One noteworthy feature of it is that in several inscriptions it is stated to have been current among the Mālava *gaṇa*. The Mālavas were a republican or an oligarchic tribe which originally lived in the Panjab. Like their neighbours, the Kṣudrakas, they are mentioned as forming an *āyudha-'jivi-saṅgha* or a military organisation, in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. They offered stubborn resistence to Alexander during his retreat from the Panjab. Later, owing to the invasions of their territory by the Greeks, Scythians and other foreign tribes, they moved southwards, and occupied Eastern Rājasthān. They are identical with the Mālayas[2] who were defeated by Ṛṣabhadatta (A. D. 123). He rescued their southern neighbours, the Uttaamabhadras whom they had besieged. Their coins have been found in the Jaipur State. Their capital in Rājasthān was Mālavanagara identified with Karkoṭanagara or Nāgar in the Ṭonk District.

The era current among the Mālavas is mentioned as *Kṛta* in some inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era. Some scholars identify it with the era founded by Azes. But a freedom-loving clan like that of the Mālavas is not likely to have adopted an era founded by a foreigner.[3] Unlike several other eras which originated in the

1. As shown before, the kingdom of the Hūṇas stretched at least from North Gujarat to the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh.

2. The Mālavas are the same as the Malloi mentioned by the Greek writers. They are mentioned as Mālavas in the Nasik Cave inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta. *EI.* VII. pp. 78 ff.

3. Feudatories are required to date their records in the era of their overlord. The Mālavas could not have been the feudatories of Azes or any other foreigner. Otherwise, they would not have

extension of the regnal years of some great king, but had no specific name, this era had the name of *Kṛta* from early times. So it must have been started by some great leader of this *gaṇa*. Inscriptions dated in it mention the names of several chiefs like Jayasoma, Nandisoma and others. Some of them bore the title of *Rājan*. It seems, therefore, that like them the Aulikaras also were the leaders of the Mālavas, who ruled as kings. Hence they have dated their inscriptions in the *Kṛta* era of the Mālava-*gaṇa*. Otherwise, they would have dated them in regnal years. As shown above, they had retained their love of independence to the last and did not submit to the Imperial Guptas even in the hey-day of Gupta supremacy in the neighbouring territory.

We have thus considerable information about Yaśodharman's predecessors, but we are completely in the dark about his successors. After Dravyavardhana shifted his capital to Ujjayinī, the old Ākaravantī *deśa* changed its name to Mālava as the Mālavas were in authority there. Bāṇa (first half of the seventh cen. A. D.) calls it by that name. According to his description, the country was then ruled by a Gupta family. Bāṇa says that Prabhākaravardhana of Ṭhaṇeśvara was like an axe to the creeper in the form of the royal fortune of the contemporary Mālava king, but he does not give his name. Later on, he states that the Mālava king had sent his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhvagupta as hostages to the court of Ṭhāneśvara. Prabhākaravardhana asked them to be the attendents of his sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣa. The third prince of Mālava was Devagupta who ascended the throne in Mālava and later killed the Maukhari Prince Grahavarman. He was thereafter exterminated by Rājyavardhana. Some scholars identify Mādhavagupta mentioned above with the later Gupta King of that name mentioned in the Aphsaḍ stone inscription,[1] but this is inadmissible as shown elsewhere.

Hiuen Tsang has described the country of Molapo which he reached after going 2000 *li* northwest from Bharukachchha (Broach).[2] The name seems to correspond to Mālava, but the bearings and the location do not agree with the situation of the Mālava country; for the Chinese pilgrim says that the country was situated on the south-east side of the river Mahī. Again, he tells us that according to a local tradition, a great king named Śīlāditya reigned 60 years before his arrival there. This ruler must evidently be of the Maitraka family of Valabhī. According to Vincent Smith,[3] the country of Molapo

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left their home territory in the Punjab and migrated to Rājasthān. So this supposition of D. C. Sircar is absolutely baseless. The Mālava era must have been started by an Indian leader of the Mālavas named Kṛta.

1. *CII.* III, pp. 200 ff.
2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.* II. pp. 242 ff,
3. *Early History of India* (third ed.), p. 323.

described by Hiuen Tsang essentially comprised the basin of the Mahī river, with the region to the east of the Sābarmatī and a portion of the hilly tract of Southern Rājputāna, perhaps extending far east as Ratlam. Besides, Hiuen Tsang mentions the kingdom of Ujjain separately. He says that it was equal in extent to Molapo and was in his time ruled by a Brāhmaṇa king. We have no other evidence of this, but this statement shows that Molapo cannot be identified with Mālava.

THE PROBLEM OF DREAM IN MILINDA-PAÑHA

T. Pobozniak

The books IV—VII did not belong to the original version of Milinda-Pañha. They were added later by commentators. Nevertheless, they touch many problems of Buddhist religion and philosophy, discuss them and solve them. They are, therefore, a valuable source of information about the level of learning in Buddhist monasteries. One of the interesting problems treated there is the discussion on the genesis and essence of the dream. The dispute is initiated by king Milinda who demonstrates through his questions a considerable knowledge of the problem. Nagasena, a Buddhist sage, solves the questions on the ground of his extensive knowledge of Buddhist canonical writings and in his argumentation he observes the rules of Buddhist logic. The phenomenon of the dream stands on the border-line between biology and psychology. It was of interest from time immemorial, but even now, in spite of many scientific researches, it has not been fully explained. Nevertheless, the statements of Nagasena are very interesting and in some points they even agree with the results of the most recent scientific exepriments.

Here is the text of this discussion (slightly abridged) :

Venerable Nagasena, men and women in this world see dreams—pleasant and evil, seen before and not seen before, things they have done before and those they have not done before, dreams peaceful and awful, far and near, of various shapes and colours. What is dream exactly and who sees it ?

What is called a dream, O king, is a sign that comes into the mind. There are six kinds of people who see dreams: inconstant persons, bilious persons, phlegmatic persons, men possessed by *deva*-s, men who exercise their minds and those who see dreams as portents. Only the prophetic dreams are true, all the rest are false.

Venerable Nagasena, when a man sees a prophetic dream, does his mind go out to seek this sign, or does this sign come into his mind, or does anyone else bring him this sign?

No, king, his mind does not seek the portent, nor does anyone else bring him the portent, but the portent comes into his mind. Like a mirror does not seek a reflection, nor does anyone else bring this reflection and put it into the mirror, but the reflection comes from the object and is seen in the mirror.

Venerable Nagasena, does the mind that sees a dream also know: Such and such result will follow, prosperous or awful ?

No, king, the mind does not know it, but when the omen has occurred he tells others about it and they explain him the meaning of it.

Venerable Nagasena, please give me the reason.

It is O king, as if moles or boils arise on the skin of the man, they can for his advantage or disadvantage, for his honour or dishonour, for his blame or praise, for his happiness or misery. Tell me, O king, do these moles or boils know that they will bring about such and such result ?

No, venerable man, but when the soothsayers see them, they will explain their results according to the place, where the moles occur.

In the same way, O king, the mind that sees a dream does not know what will be its result, prosperous or awful, but when the omen has arisen, the man speaks to others about it and they explain him its meaning.

Venerable Nagasena, a man who sees a dream, is he awake or asleep?

He is, O king neither awake nor asleep when he sees a dream; he is drowsy, but he has not reached unconscious state. When a man is in deep sleep, O king, his mind enters unconscious state and a mind that is entering the unconscious state does not work. A mind that is not working does not feel happiness or pain. One who is not susceptible sees no dreams. As in dense darkness where there is no light, no shadow is visible even on a well polished mirror, so when a man is in a deep sleep, his mind is unconscious and it does not function, then the man sees no dream although his mind is in his body. The body should be regarded as the mirror, the sleep as darkness and the mind as light. Or as the light of the sun cannot be seen when there is fog, and although the rays of the sun exist, they cannot pierce through and the detained rays give no light—even so, O king, when the mind is unconscious it does not function and sees no dreams. The body you shall regard as the sun, the sleep as the fog and the mind as the rays.

In two cases, O king, the mind does not function although the (living) body exists—when the man is in deep sleep and when he has fallen into a trance. When a man is awake, then his mind is excited, open, clear and he sees no prophetic dream. As those, O king, who seek secrecy avoid a man who is open, clear and unreserved, just so it is that the portents do not come to a man who is waking. Or again, O king, as the virtues

that lead to enlightenment do not come to a monk whose habits are bad, who meets a bad company and who is lazy, so even the portents do not come to a man who is awake and the man who is awake sees no dream.

Venerable Nagasena, is there a beginning, a middle and an end in the sleep ?

Yes, O king, there is a beginning, a middle and an end of the sleep.

What is the beginning of the sleep, the middle and the end of the sleep ?

The feeling of weakness, slackness and inertness is the beginning of the sleep. Who lies in monkey sleep, half awake, half asleep—this is the middle of the sleep. When one becomes unconscious—it is the end of the sleep. Just in the middle phase i. e. in monkey sleep man sees the dreams. Just when a man, O king, self-restrained, with collected thoughts, steadfast in virtue, unshaken in wisdom, composed, goes into a wood far from strife and noise, and thinks over some difficult problem, and he will solve this problem—even so a man who is awake, not fallen into deep sleep, but who entered into the monkey sleep, will see a dream. Wakefulness, O king, must be regarded as the noise, the monkey sleep as lonely wood. As the man who avoids the noise and is watchful solves a difficult problem, so the man who does not fall into the deep sleep, being in the monkey sleep, will see a dream.

Good, venerable Nagasena, I accept your explanation.

This text reflects the views of Buddhist scholars on the problem of dream. King Milinda represents here the standpoint of the common sense and he has much experience in the observation of dreams. He states that the dreams are neither exclusively pleasant nor painful but they are a mixture of pictures with various moods, like in real life. The dream is, however, not a pure reflection of experienced events, because beside things which were seen or done already by the dreamer, there occur things never seen or done before by him.

Nagasena is a Buddhist scholar and his views are based, on the one hand, on the doctrines of Buddhist canonical texts, and on the other hand on the observations of the sleeping people, for the most part of monks living in monasteries. He enumerates various groups of people whose sleep has been observed; they are chiefly people of various temperaments. Psychopaths were believed to be possessed of godhead; their dreams were important material for observations. A further group consisted of ascetics who practised various exercises. To the last group—according to Nagasena—belonged the people who had prophetic dreams. We know at present that all people see dreams during their sleep, the lack of this phase is an evidence of some psychic defect.

The statement of Nagasena that prophetic dreams only are true, all others being false, is reasonable with some interpretation. If a dream refers to some event seen in the past, it does not constitute its exact reflection, but it is rather a deformation of that event and thus cannot be true. Here we can quote the etymology of the word "dream", German "Traum", which is a derivation from the same root as the German "trügen", 'to deceive'. The statement that the prognostic dreams only can be considered as true, means that they alone can be verified. Nagasena explains further the phase of sleep in which the dreams are seen. It is neither wakefulness nor the state of a deep sleep where one has no consciousness, but a period of drowsiness in which the mind has not lost its sensitiveness. This phase is called monkey sleep (*kapiniddā*). Next comes the phase of deep sleep. The theory of dreams was already developed in Brahmanism. The three periods of sleep were compared there to the sacred syllable *OM* (*a-u-m*). *Á*—symbolized sleepiness, *U*—the phase of monkey sleep where the dreams are seen and the consonant *M*—the phase of deep sleep.

This theory reminds us of the results of the researches carried out in USA in the second half of the 20th c.[1] The period of dreams is called there the phase REM (rapid eyes movements) because this period is characterized by rapid movements of the eye-balls made by the dreamer.

The belief that some dreams may have importance for the future of the dreamer is pretty frequent in many peoples and in India it used to be very common. It was acknowledged by Hinduism as well as by Buddhism. The views of Western experts in somnology on this problem are not unanimous.

The sage Nagasena often uses similes in his argumentation of a *opamma*. A comparison is even an obligatory element in the Indian syllogism. Some comparisons, cited in our dispute, however, are questionable as they give an impression of artificiality, e. g. the comparison of a man who, being awake, does not see dreams to a monk with bad habits.

The talk on the dreams occurs in the 4th book which did not belong to the original version of the text *Milinda-Pañha*. The first version comprised the first 3 books only and it came into being probably in Panjab or Kashmir where the Greek king Menander reigned. About the beginning of the Christian era the text reached Ceylon. Its added parts did not originate from historical tradition but they are the work of learned monks in Ceylon. The first centre of Buddhist studies was Anuradhapura. It was there that Buddhist religious texts were collected and commented. The Pāli text of *Milinda-Pañha* was also established and enlarged there. As the time of this adaptation, we may assume the 2nd century A. D.

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1. N. Kleitman, E. Aserinsky, W. Dement,

ARCHAEOLOGY AND VAIṢṆAVA TRADITION IN INDONESIA

B. N. Puri

"The numerous stone and brick temples which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration owe their existence primarily to a mighty wave of civilization carried across the ocean from the mainland. They belong to the Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods who are worshipped in India proper to the present day". Thus, observed the late Prof. Vogel.[1] It is easy to trace Indian influence in these objects of worship, temples with their icons and beautifully carved sculptures, suggesting Indian influence on the socio-religious history of ancient Indonesia, comprising Java, Sumatra and even the far-flung island of Borneo, now with its separate political existence. It is difficult to suggest if these works were the products of Indian immigrant artists, or these were local productions inspired by Indian ideas, and helped by Indian artists and craftsmen. The history of these monuments eqally fails to pronounce if the building activity was a continuing process—waning and waxing, but steadily working its way through from the fourth century A. D. to about the fifteenth century—a little more than a thousand year and over a wide geographical canvas.

Vaiṣṇavism in the light of these observations has a history of its own in Indonesia. It was never a dominant religion like Śaivism or Buddhism, but was a strong religious movement with its separate individuality-its icons, conceptions and traditions. Its study centres round different aspects-Viṣṇu—a divinity, a component part of the ***Trimūrti***, the different incarnations of the god, his association with Śiva in the compound form of Harihara, and Vaiṣṇavism in literature and mythology. These aspects need be considered in detail in the light of the evidence available from epigraphy and archaeology of the region.

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1. *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, p. 13.

VIṢṆU A DIVINITY

The divine conception of Viṣṇu was well-known in Indonesia in fairly early times. The artists were conscious of his peculiar traits, his form and his associates, including his *vāhana* Garuḍa and the Śakti Śrī or Lakṣmī. The earliest figure of Viṣṇu is a small golden one four-armed holding a discus, conch-shell and mace in three hands, while the fourth, the lower right is in *varamudrā*. It was recovered from Muara Kaman in the Kutei province of Borneo.[1] The workmanship is of primitive character. Vaiṣṇavism seems to have reached there from Java, the Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien and referred to earlier in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It was at that time a strong centre of Brahmanism.[2] In one of the famous inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman, the ruler of Taruma in western Java, not far from Batavia (c. 450 A. D.), there is a reference to the foot-prints of Viṣṇu (*Tarumānagarendrasya Viṣṇoriva pādadvayam*).[3] The footprints are deeply cut in stone. The comparison of the king's feet with that of this Brahmanical god sheds light on the importance of this deity and ruler's position.

The Changal inscription dated in the Śaka year 654 with its script characteristic of that found in Southern Indian inscriptions from the fifth to the tenth centuries A. D. while referring to the installation of a *liṅga* on the hill by King Sañjaya, also eulogises Viṣṇu. He is described as living in the watery bed with his eyes like that of the lotus petals through meditation, and praised by the gods for their protection with the goddess Śrī.[4] This description of the god is in keeping with his *ananta-śayana* posture, which was well-known in the eighth century A. D. and is also evident from the finds of sculptures

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1. Majumdar : *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Pt. I, p. 126, Pt. II, p. 335; Chhabra *JABS*. Letters. Vol. I. 1935, No. 1, p. 40. The four inscriptions of Mūlavarman engraved on stone pillars, probably served as sacrificial posts. The reference to charities given to the Brahmins, testify to the settling down of Brahmanism in that island by fourth century A. D., as is evident from the paleography of the records. The particular sacrifice, *Bāhusuvarṇika* is identified by Kern with *Bāhuhiraṇyaka*, a special kind of Soma Sacrifice, while according to Dr. Chhabra, it is mentioned in this form in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bala*. 1.95). An inscription from Kambuja refers to the setting of the footprints of Chakratīrthasvāmi by Guṇavarman. (Majumdar : *Kambuja Ins*. No. 2, p. 2).
2. *Legge* : Fa-hien p. 113. Scholars are generally agreed that Ye-po-ti of Fa-hien denotes *Yavadvīpa* (=Java).
3. Chatterji and Chakravarty : *India and Java*, Pt. II. p. 24. According to Vogel, the footprints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He also suggested that Ci-Aruton rocks marked the spots of the kings cremation and that the footprints of the deceased monarch were credited with a magical power to protect his followers, and to hurt his enemies. (*The earliest Sanskrit Inscription from Java*, quoted from Majumdar, *op. cit.* Pt. II. p. 105 n).
4. Chatterji and Chakravarty, *op. cit.* Pt. II. p. 29.

depicting it. The *Trimūrti* conception is brought out by the Kelurak inscription[1] of the Śaka year 704, in which Mañjuśrī is identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. This is also suggestive of another aspect of Brahmanism in which the Buddhist god—primarily Buddha—finds a place in the Trinity and is also considered as an incarnation. This would be evident from several inscriptions and sculptures from Indonesia as well as from Indo-China.[2]

THE DIFFERENT INCARNATIONS

Both the artists and the authors seem to have been in the know of different incarnations of Viṣṇu—Rāma (from *Rāmāyaṇa*), Kṛṣṇa (from *Kṛṣṇāyana*), the Man-lion (*Narasiṃha*), Boar (*Varāha*), fish (*Matsya*) and tortoise (*kūrma*).[3] Only the first four are beautifully depicted by the artists in sculptures and statues carved in round. Sometimes there are female figurines on two sides of the divinity, generally known as Lakṣmī and Satiavana (Satyabhāmā) in Bali.[4] This divinity might be Kṛṣṇa with his consorts Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. The *Viṣṇupañjaramantra* mentions the different *avatāra*-s with the surnames—Govinda, Trivikrama, Varāha; Vāmana, Vāsudeva, Nārasiṃha, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Garuḍadhvaja, Vainateya and Keśava. The *Narasiṃhadhyāna* has a long list of epithets of the god, as holders of different weapons for the destruction of all the enemies (*sarva-śatru-vināśāya*), sword (*khaḍga*), conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), discus (*cakra*), mace (*gadā*), bow (*cāpa*), arrow (*śara*), chisel (*ṭaṅka*).[5]

In the temples in the Pramban valley, two small images represent the Vāmana or dwarf and Narasiṃha or man-lion incarnation of the deity.[6] The sculptures on the inner side of the balustrade of the Viṣṇu temple depict the episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa. The principal image in this temple is the four-armed Viṣṇu, but the three smaller ones of the same god represent the Vāmana and Narasiṃha incarnations, while the third figure, a two-armed one holds in one hand a four armed figure of Lakṣmī.[7]

At Lara-Jonggrang a series of reliefs depict scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* culminating

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 61, V.15.
2. Majumdar : *Kambuja Ins.* No. 156 p. 399 mentioning Padmanabha (Brahmā), *Ambhojanetra* (Viṣṇu) and Buddha. See also Coedes. *Etats Hindouises d' Indo-Chaine et d' Indonesie* henceforth *Etats* pp. 206 and 333 on the Śiva-Buddha cult in Java.
3. Majumdar : *Op. cit.* II. p. 104. The names and the stories connected with each seem to have been known, as is evident from the texts mentioned below.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.* See also the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* for the different names of the god.
6. Wilson : Translation.
7. For a description of the temple see Kampers—*Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 58, Pl 139-60,

in the arrival of Rāma and his troops in Laṅkā.[1] The Anantaśayana of Viṣṇu[2] represented on the first panel shows the god seated on serpent Śeṣa in the sea indicated by wavy lines with fishes and crabs. Viṣṇu holds the discus in the upper right hand and the conch-shell in the upper left. An indistinct object is in the lower right hand, while the lower left one is stretched out greeting the figures on the left, probably the gods who came to request him for incarnation. The person with peaked head and peculiar head dress is probably Brahma presenting an offering (*arghya*) to Viṣṇu. The god is seated with the left leg doubled and two ends of a girdle pass round his body tied a little below the knees. Garuḍa is seated to his right in a reverential mood holding in his two hands a lotus and a long stalk towards his Master.

The life story of Rāma is depicted in several panels—Daśaratha with his queen and sons, the banishment of Rāma and the coronation of Bharata, Rāma and Sītā drawn in a chariot to the forest, the King and the Queen of Ayodhya dropping down their head with grief, Bharata and his queen's attitude, the episodes of Śūrpaṇakhā and Mārīchi, Sītā in the hut guarded by Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma in the thick forest chasing the deer, Hanumān and his return from Laṅkā giving the story of Sītā to Rāma, are all graphically depicted. These point to the artist's knowledge and command in portraying[3] the incarnation and deeds of Rāma faithfully.

The incarnation of Viṣṇu and the episodes connected with his life are also noticed in Indonesian art and ancient literature. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Triguṇa (dated in the beginning of the Kadiri period)[4] deals with the famous episode of the abduction of

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1. The version of *Rāmāyaṇa* illustrated by the reliefs at Lara-Djonggrang, according to Kampers, is different from the old Javanese epic (Kakawin) about the adventures of Rama and Sita as shown in the reliefs at Panataran (pp. 279 ff). Neither is entirely consistent with the classical Sanskrit epic of Vālamīki. The railing of the Śiva temple illustrates story up to the arrival of the monkey-army in the island of Laṅkā. It is continued on the Brahmā temple (Kempers : *Op.cit.* p. 61).
2. Majumdar : *Op. cit.* Pl. XX, fig. L. The same theme is well exhibited at My-son E. I. but he is depicted as sleeping with Brahmā sitting on the Lotus emerging out of the nave of Viṣṇu. (Stern: *Champa,* Pl. 22 C). Kambuja was equally noted for Vaiṣṇava motifs in art. This particular subject of Viṣṇu finds a prominent place (Bosslier : *L'etudier Khemere* Part II No. 29).
3. The name of the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its composition are not definitely known. For *Rāmāyaṇa* in literature and art in Indonesia see, Stutterheim : *Rāma legend and Rāma reliefs in Indonesia* (1926); Kats : *The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia* (*BSOAS*. Vol. IV. pp. 579ff); Chatterji : *Op. cit.* Pt. I pp. 29 ff; Kampers : *Op. cit.* Pl. 153f, 160.278-281, 323; Majumdar : *Op. cit.*, Pt. II, Pl. XX-XXI.
4. According to Coedes, in the reign of Jayavarsha Digjaya Sastprabhu, of whom an inscription is dated in the year 1104, Trigun composed the *Kṛṣṇāyana,* an epic poem relating to the legend of Kṛṣṇa, illustrated by the base-reliefs of Chandiago and of Panataran (*Etats* p. 268).

Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and his subsequent fight with Jarāsandha. The poem supplied themes for sculptured reliefs of the temple of Panamtaran. Other works supplying the theme of Kṛṣṇa's legends, are *Harivaṃśa* from the pen of the same author Mpu Panuluh who completed the Bhāratayuddha during the reign of Jayabhaya. The death of Kṛṣṇa forms the theme of Kakawin's *Kṛṣṇāntaka*—his death and the destruction of his family.[1]

Kṛṣṇa's story in art finds the best illustration at Chandi Jago.[2] The lower part of the temple is decorated with scenes from *Kṛṣṇāyana,* while at Chandi Kedaon some of the relics illustrate scenes from the story of Sambas, as told in the ***Bhomkaya.*** At Chandi Panataram[3] Kṛṣṇa is seen eloping with Rukmiṇī followed by her brother Rukma.

Besides these sculptures carved on stone and depicting incarnations of Viṣṇu, certain statues in round deserve special attention. The statue of Viṣṇu found in the village of Tjibuaja in western Java, supposed to be the earliest image of a Hindu god in Java, has the usual attributes, a club, a *cakra,* a conch, and a fruit. The general style of the image and the conical head-dress are similar to those of statues from the south Indian Pallava kingdom, about the 6-7 century A. D.[4] The standing Viṣṇu image from Chandi Banon, with the Garuḍa at the back, now in the Djakarta Museum (formerly from Chandi Banon), is a magnificent representation of Java school of sculpture. The last one from Belhan is supposed to be a portrait-statue of Airlanga. Viṣṇu is shown sitting on a Garuḍa who is fighting his natural enemies, the snakes, holding two of them in his claws. The god is sitting in the attitude of meditation, his back hands holding a flaming *cakra* or discus resting horizontally his extended fore-finger, and a winged conch.[5] The two consorts of Viṣṇu—Airlanga Lakṣmī and Śrī, signifying fertility and wealth, are also depicted along with the god. The two niches on either side of the central one from which the Belhan Viṣṇu image was recovered, have standing images of a goddess in two forms. The goddesses are still in situ[6] while Viṣṇu Airlanga is in the Djakarta Museum. It was not unusual for the kings to identify themselves with the divinity. Besides the Belhan statue signifying Airlanga, a Viṣṇu image in the Ethnographical Mnseum in Leiden is also supposed to be a portrait of the same king.[7]

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1. Majumdar : *Op. cit.* Pt. II. p. 67.
2. Kempers : *Op. cit.* Pl. 159. The reliefs of the temple of Viṣṇu depict scenes from the youth of Kṛṣṇa, a favourite subject little known in Indonesian art literature.
3. *Ibid.* Pl. 283. cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* Book V. Chap. XXVI, p. 454 (Indian Ed. 1961).
4. *Ibid.* Pl. 23.
5. *Ibid.* Pl. 42.
6. *Ibid.* Pl. 202.
7. Majumdar ; *Op. cit.* p. 293, quoting Bk. I, Vol. 89 (1932), pp. 251-52.

SIVA AND VIṢṆU

Despite the superiority of Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism and the corresponding deities in that order, the association of two gods is closer in Indonesia. This is evident not only from finds of Viṣṇu images in Śaiva temples, but also from the compound deity Hari-Hara whose image was found at Simping.[1] Viṣṇu is represented with his two hands holding *Śaṅkha* or conch-shell, and club (*gadā*). The other two hands hold rosary (*akṣamālā*) and *triśūla*, the symbols of Śiva. Besides the compound deity, Viṣṇu also appears as a part of the Trinity. The *Trimūrti* image was also found in Java with the three heads, all of the same appearance. The three gods regarded merely as different aspects of the one indivisable Supreme Spirit. They were, however, known under different names, with their *Śakti*-s–Umā or Pārvatī (of Śiva in his benign attitude), Kālī and Durgā representing his destructive power), Srī or Lakṣmi (of Viṣṇu as Protector) and Sarasvatī, the gooddess of learning (of Brahmā).[2]

VIṢṆU LEGENDS IN MYTHOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Legends connected with Viṣṇu are also noticed in Javanese literature and depicted in the archaeological monuments. Besides reference to the features and attributes of the deity, his different *avatāra*-s or incarnations and names, the *mantra*-s and ceremonies for his propitiation are also recorded. The *Kālyavantaka* mentions[3] the story given in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* of Kālayavana invading Mathura to avenge Kaṃsa's death, and ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda. So also is the reference to the story of Arjuna taking away Subhadrā when Andhakas and Vṛṣṇīs were celebrating a feat on Raivataka. The *Tattva savang-suvang*[4] a work on cosmogony, refers to the birth of Brahmā and Viṣṇu out of the right eye of the creator named Sang hyang Tayā-and on his command Brahmā erected the first man Kakimanuh, and Viṣṇu the first women Nim Manuh. The story of Brahmā and Viṣṇu trying to fathom the depth of the *Liṅga* of Śiva is dcpicted on a nicely executed bronze piece referred to by Schnitger[5] with the two deities standing on two sides of the *Liṅga*. It undoubtedly refers to the well-known story related in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*,

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1. *Ibid.* p. 292. Harihara images were known in Kambuja in the Pre-Angkorian period (Coedes : *Etats.* p. 107). Hara and Acyuta joined into one were known as Hari-Hara in Kambuja (Majumdar : *Kambuja Ins.* No. 60 p. 74), and also as Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (*Ibid.*, no. 40, p. 50).
2. Majumdar : *Op. cit.* p. 105, 139.
3. *Ibid.* p. 72. Wilson : Trans. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. V, Chap. XXIII p. 449 (1961).
4. *Ibid.* pp. 78-79.
5. *Ibid.* p. 303. This is also noticed in Kambuja.

how neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could trace the upper or lower limb of Śiva in the form of a *Liṅga*, thus acknowledging his superiority. This theme was also depicted in Champa.[1]

Different sects of Vaiṣṇavism are not noticed. The records of Airlanga[2] refer to the principal sects as Śaiva (Maheśvara), Saugata (Buddhist), and Ṛṣi or Mahābrahma. An analysis of the different religious sects enumerated in the texts was made by Goris.[3] According to his calculation, all the texts mention one or more Śaiva sects, but only four refer to the Vaiṣṇava sect and three to Brahman or those devoted to Brahmā. It appears from the finds of the images of Viṣṇu and other Brahmanical deities, that Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were not placed in separate compartments. The two flourished in complete association and concord without anyone completely merging his identity in the other. Vaiṣṇavism did enjoy Royal patronage, especially under Kṛtarajasa, and Airlanga. The Wayang dances with the *Rāmāyaṇa* story forming the theme is suggestive of the deep impact which this religion had on the life and thought of the people. Later Religious movements failed to disturb the firmly rooted emotional legacy of the past. That explains why the Indonesians still cling to their old Hindu traditions associated with the past though theirs is an Islamic country. The monuments are no doubt there to remind any one of the earlier religious movements in that country, but past also plays substantial role in the life of the people.

1. Majumdar : *Champa Ins.* No. 69.
2. Majumdar : *Op. cit.* p. 101,
3. *Ibid.* p. 132.

ADVENT OF MAURYANS IN KASHMIR

K. S. Saxena

Early history of Kashmir, as that of the entire country, is rather imperfectly known prior to the establishment of the Mauryan empire in India. The great historian, Kalhaṇa, has himself frankly admitted that, for the earlier part of his Chronicle, he had depended upon tradition and folklore.[1] From the historical point of view, Kashmir hardly figures in the pages of Indian political history prior to the rule of the mighty Mauryans in the Valley. It would be interesting to note the role of Kashmir and its rulers during the period immediately preceding the establishment of Mauryan Supremacy in that region, or; to be more precise, during the whirlwind campaign of Alexander, the Great before the advent of the Mauryans in the valley.

Prior to dealing with the problem it would be proper on our part to know something about the existing political conditions of Kashmir and its neighbouring regions at the time of the advent of Greeks on the Indian borderlands. North-western regions of the Valley were under Persian domination[2] ever since the closing decades of the 6th Century B. C. These regions included. "Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahara) and Gandaria (North-western Punjab.)"[3] But when Alexander invaded India, nearly two centuries later, the Indus was the boundary between the Persian Empire and India, and both Punjab and Sindh were governed by numerous native princes.[4] In due course and with the fall of the Persian Empire to the Mecedonian Conqueror, the regions came under Alexander's influence after stout resistance.[5] It has been suggested by Rapson that Porus had made some attempt to crush the free tribes to the east, in order to push his advance

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1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Aurel Stein's Translation. Vol. I. *Tarang*-i Verse 35. Raychaudhuri, H. C , *Pol. Hist. of Anc. India*, P. 241; Smith, V.A. *Early History of India*, Fourth edition, p. 40,
2. Smith V.A., *Ibid.*, p.40.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 40, fn. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-62.
5. Rapson, E. J., *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 349,

beyond the Hydraotes (Ravi) in alliance with the Raja of the Abhisara country (corresponding roughly with the Punch and Naoshera districts in Kashmir).[1] Obviously, this attempt of Porus had taken place before the invasion of Alexander, the Great as, at the time of the clash between the Macedonians and Porus, the Raja of Abhisara had been too late to help the latter.

It is interesting to note that the Pāli texts mention Kashmir with Gandhara, also called Gandharavaviṣaya in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2] In *Jātaka*-s[3] too, as pointed out by Raychaudhuri, Kashmir was included in the kingdom of Gandhara.[4] Hecataeus of Miletus (549-486 BC) "refers to Kaspapyros (Kasyapapura, i.e., Kashmir) as a Gandarie (Gandhara) City.[5] If the evidence of the Pāli texts is to be believed, then Kashmir, which was a part of the Gandhara region, had directly come under the sway of the Greeks.

Greek historians, e. g., Arrian, Curtius and Diodorus, throw considerable light on the position and political status of the ruler of Abhisara. McCrindle, discussing Arrian, states that the kingdom of Abhisara was situated in the region of mountain-girt Valleys., corresponding to Hazara, which lies between the Indus and the upper Hydaspes. After his submission to Alexander, the ruler of Abhisara country, with the added territories of Kashmir, 'Abisares' (ruler) thus became a powerful chief and it may be surmised that Kashmir remained under his sway[6] for some time. From the description of Arrian, it appears, that when Alexander arrived at Taxila, "Abisares, the King of the Indians of hill-country, sent him an embassy which included his own brother and other grandees of his Court."[7] Probably Porus did not have any idea of this secret mission as stated earlier, otherwise he would not have depended upon his help. (It must have been sent before the defeat of Porus at the hands of the Greek invader).

After the battle of the Hydaspes, Alexander, according to Diodorus, halted to replenish his army with Thracian guards from Iran.[8] He then advanced northwards with

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1. They would also seem to have brought back to Alexander his envoy Nicocles, whom the Raja had retained as long as the issue of the conflict with Porus was doubtful. Alexander, however, could now be satisfied with nothing short of the Raja's presence and gave the envoys to understand that it would be as well for him to come, or he might have to come to look for him. (Rapson, E. J., p. 3:0). Cf. also Sastri, K. A. N., *Age of Nandas and Mauryas*, pp. 64-65.
2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II.68.19-22, VII.113-145; cf. also *C.H.I.*, Barua, B. M., *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 93.
3. *Jātaka-s*, No. 406.
4. Some *Jātaka*-s represent Kashmir and Gandhara as two countries ruled by one King (*Jātaka* III, p. 364-78; Malalasekhara, *Dictionary*, I, p. 543; cf. Barua, B.M., *Ibid.*, p. 93).
5. Rapson, F. J., *C. H. I.* 394.
6. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander The Great*, p. 69, fn. 3.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
8. Rapson, E. J. *C. H. I.*, p. 370.

a part of his army to the fertile and populous regions that lay in the south of Kashmir (i. e. Bhimber and Bajaur districts) between the upper courses of the Hydaspes, Akesines and the Chenab.[1] Meantime, envoys had come from Abisares with the news that their king surrendered himself and his whole realm to Alexander. The Abhisara chief probably thought that Alexander might come to punish him as well, since the Macedonian conqueror now knew that the former had promised help to Porus against the Greeks, as can be inferred from Arrian's description. (But he could not or rather did not come to help Porus in time). Hence the second mission. Alexander was by now in full knowledge of the duplicity of the ruler of Abhisara. He later made Abhisares a satrap of his own dominions and placed Arsakes under his jurisdiction.[2] Arsakes was the ruler of a small mountain kingdom which adjoined that of his brother, Abisares, the king of Kashmir.[3]

It is interesting to note that at two or three places we find Abisares, mentioned by Diodorus as the king of Kashmir.[4] Curtius also informs us that the envoys from Abisares, according to instructions, surrendered to Alexander all that their master possessed. Abisares (ruler), who had sent envoys to Alexander before the battle with Porus had taken place, now sent few others to assure Alexander that he was ready to do whatever the Macedonian commanded.[5] Tarn opines that Abisares was the ruler of the hill states of Rajansi and Bimber, both now included in Kashmir.[6] He had earlier sent envoys and elephants to Alexander who had threatened him with invasion. Later Alexander confirmed him in his kingdom as a (nominal) tributary prince and also conferred upon him authority over the neighbouring ruler of Hazara.[7]

Agnes Savill also took Abisares to be ruler of Kashmir. According to him, "Abisares had sent a message that he was loyal and denied having aided Massagans (and refugees from Aornos). Later Abisares surrendered to him."[8] Arthur Weigall thinks that Alexander did not know that, "the rajah of Kashmir was marching down from the

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1. The name of the inhabitants, Glausai or Glaukanikai has been identified by V. De Saint—Martin with that of Kalak, a tribe mentioned in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, a work of the sixth century. *Ibid.*, p. 111, fn. 2.
2. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander The Great*, p. 129.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 380, 402.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 207, 216.
6. Tarn, W. W., *Alexander the Great*, pp. 92, 97, 100.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Agnes Savill, *Alexander the Great and His Times*, pp. 96, 101-02, 109.

north to the aid of Porus, and it was by chance that this new army was still some little distance away."[1] The same authority holds that when Alexander crossed the Jhelum his forces were mistaken to have been Kashmiri troops for succour.[2] After defeating Porus, Alexander moved further north to the borders of Kashmir passing very close to Sialkot, whereupon the Raja of that country, hearing the defeat of his ally, hastily tendered his submission and sent presents.[3]

Thus we find that either Kashmir as a whole or part of it came under the jurisdiction of the Greek invader, Alexander, the Great. It is not unlikely that Abhisara (ruler) would have remained loyal to Alexander quite long after the latter's death, as his vast empire was divided into two. The eastern part came under the sway of Seleukos, who later on became known as Nikator, or the Conqueror. But finding the authority of the Greeks weakening, the chiefs of the Indian borderlands revolted against them.[4] Seleukos was later defeated by Chandragupta Maurya and was made to conclude a treaty. He was constrained to surrender a large part of Ariana to the west of the Indus to Chandragupta along with satrapies of the Paropanisdae, Aria and Archosia, the capitals of which latter ones were respectively the cities now known as Kabul, Herat and Kandahar.[5] The eastern part of Gedrosia (Baluchistan) too, it appears, was included in the empire of Chandragupta Maurya.[6]

Thus we find that the Greek suzerainty of parts of Kashmir was ended by Chandragupta Maurya. The Valley, as noted above, was, for a time under the Greek political canopy, and when its influence was replaced by the might of the Mauryas, it is quite likely that Kashmir, too, accepted the latter's suzerainty. From the *Mudrārākṣasa* we learn that Chandragupta Maurya had in his army soldiers recruited from among the people of Kashmir including, the Khaśas.[7] According to *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, Khaśas used to dwell at Rajansi (Rajapuri) and played a great role in the subsequent political history of the Valley.[8] For, it is incomprehensible that any rival country could send out its men to be recruited in the armed forces of an ambitious inimical ruler. Moreover, it is also not likely that Chandragupta Maurya and his political advisor, Kauṭilya, a shrewd politician, would have recruited soldiers from an enemy's land. It would mean that Kashmir had also accepted the political supremacy of Chandragupta Maurya.

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1. Arthur Weigall, *Alexander the Great*, pp. 286-87.
2. *C. H. 2.*, p. 364 ff.
3. Arthur Weigall, *Alexander the Great*, p. 289.
4. Smith, V. S., *I. H. I.*, p. 122.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
6. Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, pp. 36-37.
7. *M. R.*, II.12,
8. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

We are told that during the reign of Bindusara, Aśoka was called upon to crush a revolt at Taxila.[1] According to *Aśokāvadāna*,[2] "The king again charged Aśoka to chastise the kingdom of Khaśas. The inhabitants of that kingdom came to meet him and yielded in the same way as before. Having subdued them, Aśoka returned to his country."[3] It is thus clear that during his youth Aśoka had subdued the Khaśas and the regions around Takṣaśilā.[4] It appears that during the period of the war of succession, consequent to the death of Bindusara, the Khaśas had raised their head but were severely dealt with. In Tāranātha's narrative also Aśoka is said to have subdued the Khaśas and the land of Nepal.[5] The Tibetan traveller also informs us that Aśoka had summoned the monks of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tulkhasa to an assembly of Pañchavarsha.[6]

It is thus clear that, though the region of Kashmir was saved from the terrible havoc caused by the invading forces of Alexander, conditions obtaining in the region were such as it became easy for the Mauryans to impose their suzerainty over the Valley after the defeat of Seleukos. That Kashmir formed part of extensive dominions of Aśoka is abundantly clear from certain Buddhist accounts as well as that of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* itself. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Aśoka inherited Kashmir as part of his ancestral possessions or that he conquered that region himself. Certain passages in the *Mudrārākṣasa* admittedly a late work, indicate that Puṣkarākṣa, a king of Kashmir, had fought against Chandragupta Maurya and had been defeated along with the confederacy which had opposed that mighty ruler.[7] If reliance is to be placed on the drama, then Kashmir or parts of it had been conquered by Chandragupta Maurya himself. Further the drama refers to the extent of Chandragupta's empire rather vaguely to the snowcapped Himalayas in the north.[8] Greek accounts refer to the clash between the armies of Chandragupta Maurya and Seluekos, the latter being comeplled to part with four provinces as related above. Since the inscriptions of Aśoka along with the part inscription bearing his title Priyadarśin (Prydr) are to be found in these regions,[9] it may readily be believed that the empire of Chandragupta Maurya included most of the areas on the north-west and it would be in the fitness of things to assume that Kashmir or at least a large part of it was within his domains.

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1. *Ibid.*, I, i, Verse.
2. Mukhopadhyaya, S. K., *Aśokāvadāna*, p. 40.
3. Przyluski, J., *Legend of King Aśoka*, p. 111.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
7. Mookerji, R. K., *Chandragupta Maurya avd His Times*, p. 27.
8. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act III, 19.
9. Thapar, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 22. For another view for the little Priyadarśin as being designated by Chandragupta, see *P. H. A. I.*, p. 271.

Bindusara, the successor of Chandragupta Maurya, is not credited with any conquests in the North though according to Tāranātha he is said to have extended his dominions from the eastern to the western seas.[1] That would raise the vexed controversy whether parts of the south were conquered by Chandragupta himself with which we are least concerned in the present context. One important episode—the revolt at Taxila—has found mention in almost all Buddhist works.[2] It is also stated that Aśoka was despatched to Taxila to quell the revolt which his elder brother had been unable to cope with.[3]

Incidentally, Aśoka is also referred to have conquered the Khaśas (Svasas) of Kashmir.[4]

Unfortunately, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not refer to any military activity on the part of Aśoka in these regions though Kalhaṇa devotes a good many verses to the benign rule of that Emperor and his successors as detailed by us elsewhere.[5]

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1. Majumdar, R. C., *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 69.
2. Cf. Thapar, R., *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 130-31.
3. Raychaudhuri, H. C., *P. H. A. I.* p. 297 ff.
4. Majumdar, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.
5. Saxena, K. S., *Political History of Kashmir*, Chapter II.

JAINA CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE*

D. C. Sircar

There is no sphere of Indian activity, to which the Jainas have not contributed. In the following lines, the attention is briefly drawn to the remarkable activities and achievements of the Jainas in various fields such as asceticism, religion and philosophy, dogmatic approach, mythology, speculative writings, kingship and administration, different branches of literature, astrology, astronomy and mathematics, art and architecture, etc.

India is a land of ascetics who have flourished throughout the ages in different parts of the country; but only some of them succeeded in creating a great impression on the minds of the people and two such are Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra whom scholars regard as the founders of Jainism and who may be considered to be the greatest contributions of Jainism to the culture of India and the world. According to some authorities, the four great vows preached by Pārśva to his followers were—non-killing, non-lieing, non-stealing and chastity to which Mahāvīra added the vow of keeping nothing (including raiment) as one's own possession. These precepts, which were free from the unintelligibility of the Vedic rituals, directly appealed to the mind of the common man and both Pārśva and Mahāvīra naturally attracted to themselves exceptionally large followings.

In the later Vedic age there was a reaction against the Vedic *Karmakāṇḍa* or rituals including sacrifices which gradually came to be regarded as meaningless and obnoxious by some thinkers. Even the conception of God or gods was avoided by some of them. One important cause of this reaction is that, by that time the Aryan foreigners had already absorbed a good deal of Non-aryan blood and ideas, and it is a significant fact that many of the critics of Vedism in the age in question were Non-aryans or had Non-aryan blood in their veins even if they claimed to be Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya. Among these critics of Vedism, we may include some of the Upaniṣadic thinkers, the founders of Bāgavatism, Buddhism and Jainism, the propounders of the Sāṅkhya and some other systems, etc.

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* Lecture delivered at the University of Dibrugarh (Assam).

Both Pārśva and Mahāvīra took recourse to meditation for the attainment of supreme knowledge, for salvation and freedom from the bonds of actions. It is said that, while Pārśva was the son of a king of Vārāṇasī, Mahāvīra was the son of a wealthy nobleman of the republican Jñātṛka clan of Vaiśālī. Their renunciation of the world cannot be explained as an attempt to escape from the rigours of poverty. They must have felt some urge to give up the life of pleasure in order to adopt the austere life of an ascetic. It is, therefore, difficult to agree with the materialists who do not believe that there is any urge greater than that of the stomach.

The Jainas play a prominent part in the history of Indian philosophy. Against the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the eternal existence of soul which is the only existing being, earlier Buddhism taught the non-existence of independent soul outside the constant becoming and passing away of the psychical phenomena while the Mahāyānists developed *śūnyavāda* or *nāstivāda*, i.e. the doctrine of It-is-not. Midway between these two views of the Upaniṣads and the Buddhists is the Jaina *syādvāda* which postulates that there is some thing which exists eternally, objects being eternal as matter, though this matter can assume all possible forms and qualities. The contribution of the early Jainas to the development of logic and atomism, the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophy is great. One may note Bhadrabāhu's syllogism consisting of ten parts in *Āvaśyakaniryukti* and *Syādvāda* in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅganiryukti*. One of the greatest Jaina writers on philosophical topics is Kundakunda, who probably flourished about the first century A.D. and is said to have composed as many as 83 treatises in Prakrit, of which only seven are known to us.

Karman, i.e. the accumulated result of action, with which the conception of transmigration of soul is closely associated, has enormous importance in Jainism as it is in most other religions of India. It is utilised to solve all unintelligible problems of life such as the sufferings of a righteous person and the good luck of a villain. *Karman* has four sources according to the Jainas and can be divided into eight kinds while it has a ladder of fourteen steps by which a *jīva* may mount to *mokṣa* or salvation. The soul cannot attain salvation so long as it is bound by *karman*.

The foundation of Jaina philosophy is based on the nine *tattva*-s or categories of fundamental truths, five of which are concerned with the acquisition, prevention, impeding or destruction of *karman* and two with bondage to it or freedom from it. The *tattva*-s are the following: (1) *jīva* (which can be divided into fourteen classes), (2) *ajīva* (of which there are three kinds of *arūpī* and one kind of *rūpī*), (3) *puṇya* (of which there are nine kinds with fortytwo fruits), (4) *pāpa* (which has eighteen kinds with eightytwo results), (5) *āśrava* (fortytwo chief channels by which *karman* enters, seventeen of which are major and twentyfive minor), (6) *saṁvara* (fiftyseven ways of impeding *karman*), (7) *bandha* (bondage to *karman*, which is of four kinds), (8) *nirjarā* (austerities by which

karman can be destroyed and of which six are exterior and six interior), and (9) *mokṣa* (inhabited by fifteen kinds of *siddhas*).

An exceptional feature of Jaina catholicity, not found in any other religion of the world, is that even a person, who is not a Jaina but exhibits perfect holiness in his life, can pass to *mokṣa* and become an Anyaliṅga Siddha. Thus the celebrated ascetic Valkalacīrin, who never professed the Jaina creed, became a *Siddha* of the said class.

The peculiar doctrine of *syādvāda* of the Jainas, to which reference has been made above, means that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything, but that it may exist in one place and not in another and at one time and not at another. One can affirm the existence of a thing from one point af view (*syād--asti,* A is B), deny it from another (*syān--n--āsti,* A is not—B), and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (*syād--asti-nāsti,* A is both B and not—B). If one thinks of affirming the existence and non-existence of a thing at the same time from the same point of view, it should be said that it cannot be spoken of (*syād--avaktavyaḥ*). Likewise, under similar circumstances, it is not possible to affirm existence (*syād--asti avaktavyaḥ*) and non-existence (*syān--n--āsti avaktavyaḥ*) and also both (*syād--asti--n--āsti avaktavyaḥ*).

Besides the philosophical conceptions of the Jainas, to some of which we have referred, there are other interesting features of Jainism which are not found even in the other religious faiths of India, not to speak of the various religions of the outside world. The foremost of the peculiarities is that Jainism puts the greatest emphasis on the most austere type of asceticism. There is an accent of asceticism among most of the Indian religious systems; but this falls far short of the exceptionally rigorous standard of the Jainas. Reference may be made in this connection to the fact the Indian mendicants cut or shave off their hair, but that the Jaina ascetic must tear out his hair from the roots. Attention should also be drawn to the emphasis on nudity which was prescribed by Mahāvīra for his ascetic followers and which was responsible for the division of the Jainas between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara communities. It is not difficult to understand the idea underlying the approach. Indeed, the complete ascetic must fully conquer all his emotions including the idea of shame and must be indifferent to the protection given by clothes against heat and cold and must also be unconscious as to whether he wore raiment or not. The rigid Jaina approach in the matter is, however, not noticed in any other sect even though there may have been some individual ascetics of various orders in India, who preferred to remain naked.

Another peculiarity is that Jainism offers the most emphatic protest, so far made anywhere in the world, against the consideration of luxury, wealth and comfort the main

things in life. It is of course somewhat paradoxical that the lay followers of Jainism always were and still are the wealthy mercantile community.

The third peculiarity is that, more than any other religious faith in the world, Jainism puts the greatest stress on Ahiṁsā or the doctrine of non-injury to and non-slaughter of living beings. There are a few interesting points that may be recalled in this connection. In the first place, the said doctrine was emphasised by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra who belonged to a clan that claimed the status of the Kṣatriya or the fighting community which preferred to perform bloody sacrifices. Secondly, in the practice of Ahiṁsā, emphasis is usually put by the Jainas more on the insects and animals than on human beings. Thus, for the crime of cracking a louse a wealthy merchant is known to have been punished by a pious Jaina king by the confiscation of his entire property while for the crime of bringing a dish of raw meat to the capital city of the same king, a person was sentenced to death. In spite of our great regard for the Jaina view of life, we have experienced the difficulty of easily reconciling the Ahiṁsā doctrine with the nature of insects and animals living on other animals and insects or on live grass and plants as well as the problem of saving the lives of certain plants (yielding food for mankind and the animal world) without weeding out other living plants.

A fourth peculiarity of Jainism is that, in the matter of speculative writing, the Jaina authors always excelled the Hindus and all other peoples of the world. They demanded great faith from their readers. Indeed the Jainas exhibit astonishing erudity in the descriptions, in the various texts, not only of cosmography but even of the most widely adored Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus the Jainas have to believe that Ṛṣabhanātha, the first of their Tīrthaṅkaras, was 500 'bows' tall and lived for 84 lakh ***pūrvas***. A 'bow' being equal to four cubits, Ṛṣabha was 200 cubits tall while the length of his life is even more difficult to comprehend, because one ***pūrva*** is 84 lakhs multiplied by 84 lakhs so that the Tīrthaṅkara lived for 8,400,000 x 8,400,000 x 8,400,000 of our years. The later the Tīrthaṅkara, the lesser were his height and longevity. The twenty second Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi was only ten 'bows' or forty cubits tall and lived for only 1000 years. Owing to such descriptions and a few other reasons, scholars are afraid to regard the first twenty two Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jainas as historical figures. Even the latest two Tīrthaṅkaras, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, who are accepted by scholars as historical, are said to have been respectively nine and seven cubits tall, though the periods of their life, given respectively as 100 and 72 years, look like normal. Then again, the intervening period between the death of one Tīrthaṅkara and the birth of the next is likewise gradually lesser in the later cases. Thus Mahāvīra was born 250 years after the death of Pārśva, who was himself born 83,750 years after Ariṣṭanemi's death; but the intervening periods between the earlier Tīrthaṅkaras are given in myriads of years called ***sāgaropama,*** which is explained

as ten *koṭākoṭi-palyopama* years, each *koṭākoṭi* being one crore multiplied by one crore. Therefore, the said traditions would place the birth of Ṛṣabha and thus of Jainism, not to speak of Ṛṣabha's ancestors, many geological ages not only before the beginning of human civilisation about five million years ago, but even before the development of human life on the earth. To believe in such speculations, no doubt, speaks of the very great faith and reverence the Jainas have in respect of their mythology.

It has to be pointed out that similar ideas are found in the Purāṇic literature of the Hindus, which speaks of the four *yuga*-s, the fourteen *manvantara*-s, the day of the gods, the day of the god Brahman, etc. In the calculation of the four *yuga*-s, one human year of 360 days is regarded as one day of the gods so that the *Kṛta-yuga* has 4800 divine and 1,728,000 mortal years, *Tretā-yuga* 3600 and 1,296,000, *Dvāpara-yuga* 2400 and 864,000 and *Kali-yuga* 1200 and 432,000. A *manvantara*, which is seventy one times the number of years in all the four *yuga*-s taken together, is again the one-fourteenth part of the day of the god Brahman and is equivalent to 4,320,000 human years. The fourteen *manvantara*-s making one full day of Brahman is thus 60,480,000 mortal years. Human longevity ranges between 4000 years in the *Kṛta-yuga* and 100 in Kali. It will be seen that these speculations fail miserably to reach the height of those of the Jainas. Even the late medieval Hindu conception about the height and longevity of human beings in the four *yuga*-s looks insignificant if placed by the side of the Jaina speculations quoted above, because they are only twenty one cubits and one lakh years in *Kṛta*, fourteen cubits and 10,000 years in *Tretā*, seven cubits and 1000 years in *Dvāpara* and three cubits and a half and one hundred and eight years in *Kali*.

While speaking of the Hindu speculations regarding cosmography (e.g., about the island-continents like Jambūdvīpa), which are too mild compared to the Jaina speculations on the subject, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas are conscious that the credulity of intelligent men was being taxed. That is why they say—

yeṣāṁ manuṣyās--tarkeṇa pramāṇāni pracakṣate |
acintyāḥ khalu ye bhāvā na tāṁs--tarkeṇa bhāvayet ||
prakṛtibhyaḥ paraṁ yac--ca tad--acintyasya lakṣaṇam ||

But the Jaina authors appear to have been much bolder and without much scruples.

The fifth peculiarity of Jainism is the great emphasis placed on religious suicide. Suicide at certain holy places is also prescribed by the Hindu scriptures; but the Jaina's approach is more rigid in this respect. Because the Jaina always lives under the fear of committing the sin of injury to and slaughter of living beings, suicide to him seems to mean relief from a great trouble.

Along with the Jaina ascetics, mention may be made of certain great kings and generals and administrators who were Jainas. What is of interest is that the activities of

the kings and generals are not found to be affected much by the Jaina doctrine of Ahiṁsā, etc. The greatest Jaina king of medieval India is Kumārapāla of Gujarat (1144-73 A.D.). It is said that on ascending the throne at the age of 50 Kumārapāla killed the disaffected ministers and blinded his sister's husband for arrogance and had the latter's limbs paralysed. The king is represented as a great warrior, and an elaborate description of his *digvijaya* is found in the fourth canto of the *Kumārapālacarita* by Jayasiṁha Sūri. Among the Jaina kings of ancient India, one of the most famous is Khāravela of Kaliṅga, who flourished, in our opinion, during the first century B. C. The Hāthīgumphā inscription is full of the description of Khāravela's military and other exploits. If Jaina tradition has to be believed, even the great Candragupta, founder of the mighty Maurya dynasty of Magadha, who subdued practically the whole of the Indian subcontinent with parts of Afghanistan with a huge army and repulsed an invasion of Seleucus, the emperor of Western Asia, was a Jaina. Needless to say that all these kings were great generals as well.

Among Jaina administrators, the greatest names in Indian history are those of the Prāgvāṭa (Porwar) Bania brothers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla. The two brothers were ministers of Caulukya Bhīma II (1178-1241 A.D.) and served as ministers of the latter's subordinate, the Caulukya-Vaghelā chief Vīradhavala. There are many records of the munificence, sagacity and religious and temple-building activities of the two administrators. The Mt. Abu inscription of 1230 A.D. gives same account of the lives and activities of the administrators.

The Jainas have a vast canonical literature called *Āgama* or *Siddhānta* in the *Ārṣa Ardhamāgadhī* language. It consists of the following groups of texts sometimes mentioned as 45; (1) 12 *Aṅga*-s, (2) 12 *Upāṅga*-s, (3) 10 *Prakīrṇa*-s, (4) 6 *Chedasūtra*-s, (5) individual texts, viz. *Nandī* and *Anuyogadvāra*, and (6) 4 *Mūlasūtra*-s, although the order, etc., are not regarded as uniform, there being also a difference between the Śvetāmbara tradition followed above and the tradition of the Digambaras. The original doctrine preached by Mahāvīra to his disciples called Gaṇadharas or heads of schools was contained in 14 *Pūrva*-s or old texts. Of these, only 11 are found in the recension that has come down to us. The authorship of a few of the canonical works is ascribed to later authors like Bhadrabāhu (4th century B.C.—author of the 4th *Chedasūtra* called *Ācāradaśāḥ*, the 8th section of which is called Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*), Devardhi (5th century A.D.—author of the *Nandīsūtra*), etc.

Besides the canons, there is no branch of Indian literature, which the Jainas have not enriched. Side by side with an extensive narrative literature and many works on scientific subjects, they have composed epics, novels, dramas, hymns, etc. The language is sometimes simple Sanskrit or Prakrit; but sometimes the Jaina authors have proved

themselves to be masters of ornate court poetry. As regards epics, mention may be made of Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (*Padmacarita*) and Raviṣeṇa's *Padmapurāṇa*, which are the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*, Jinasena's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* in 66 cantos dealing with the Kṛṣṇa saga and Śubhacandra's *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa* which is also known as the *Jaina-Mahābhārata*. The Hindu stories were always changed by the Jainas to suit their own requirements. There are collections of legends like Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, etc. Indian literature being poor in historical compositions, the stories involving historical personages as found in Merutuṅga's work and other books of the type are quite remarkable in Jaina literature. An important historical work is Śrīvara's *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī*. The Jainas can also claim some unique and very valuable historical traditions such as those regarding the end of Gupta rule 131 and 155 years after its foundation as found in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*. The suggestion is that the Guptas, who began to rule about 320 A.D., lost parts of their empire in 551 A.D. and the remaining parts in 575 A.D., and this can be proved satisfactorily by the evidence at our disposal.

Among the early medieval authors of India, the Jaina Hemacandra (1089-1172 A.D.) is the most versatile and prolific writer, both as a poet and as a scholar. Besides works on Jaina topics, Hemacandra wrote on grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics and has been significantly called *Kalikālasarvajña*. It is under his influence that his disciple king Kumārapāla of Gujarat gave up hunting and banned the slaughter of animals, eating of meat, drinking of intoxicants, dice-playing, animal-fights and betting.

An earlier author named Haribhadra, who was born at Chittore about the beginning of the eighth century A.D., is said to have composed no less than 1,444 works on various topics. Of these, nearly one hundred have so far been discovered. His *Samarādityakathā* in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī prose and verse is a religious novel. He also wrote the philosophical treatise entitled *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*.

A remarkable Jaina author is Somaprabha, one of whose poems is the *Śatārtha-kāvya* written about 1175 A.D. It is probably unique in the history of Indian literature and even in the literature of the world. The book reveals the author's very great command over the Sanskrit language, since it consists only of one stanza in the *Vasantatilakā* metre, which the author himself explains in one hundred different ways.

The Jainas have also produced a vast fairy-tale literature in prose and verse in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. The stories were utilised for religious instruction and edification. Among scientific treatises written by Jaina authors, we may mention Mahāvīrācārya's *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* on mathematics and Harṣakīrtisūri's *Jyotiṣasārodhāra* on astrology-astronomy. A remarkable work of Indian literature is Ṭhakkura Pherū's *Dravyaparīkṣā* which contains a valuable account of the coins of numerous types preserved in the treasury of Sultān Alāuddīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.) of Delhi.

The followers of Jainism must be credited with enriching the vernacular literatures of India, especially of South India. Some of the finest works of early Tamil literature, such as the *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* and probably also the *Kurraḻ* were composed by Jaina authors. Modern works of Jaina authors are mostly in Gujarati with some in Hindi and a few in English.

Jaina architecture is remarkable for the exquisite fineness of the carvings in the interior of temples. This is so delicate a *tracery* that it seems incredible that the architects and sculptors succeeded in carrying it out on stone. This is an earlier wood work imitated on stone. Mention may be made of the many-curved strut which sustains the arches and were imitated from the wooden support of a timber arch. The earlier *stūpa*-s and cave-temples of the Jainas are similar to those of the Buddhists. There are some early Jaina caves, with a few of them bearing sculptures, near Bhubaneswar in Orissa. Some of the most beautiful Jaina temples belong to the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among magnificent Jaina temples may be mentioned Tajaḥpāla's Dilwara temple on Mt. Abu, the Śatruñjaya temples at Palitana (Gujarat) and others. The inner shrine of the Jaina temples is generally guarded by richly carved doorways while the *maṇḍapa* or outer portico as well as the workmanship of the marble pendants of the dome of the porch is characterised by great beauty and fineness; but the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is not so very beautiful and the idol worshipped in the temple, which is naked and blind in the Digambara and with loin-cloth and glass-eyes in Śvetāmbara establishments, is without grace.

Some of the outstanding Indian sculptures of the early period were made by the Jainas. Mathura has yielded a number of beautiful *āyāgapaṭṭas* and Tīrthaṅkara images of the early period. The *āyāgapaṭṭas* are tablets of homage which are ornamental slabs bearing the representation of a Jaina or some other object of worship. Some of the medieval sculptures representing Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras such as those at Deogadh are also very beautiful.

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EMBARRASSED BRAHMANS

R. Morton Smith

All societies hitherto have inhibited sex somehow; limited food supply and health dangers made it prudent. It has been left to the modern progressive intellectuals of the West, who may exploit safely the health and welfare labour of others in a state blessed with modern technology, to reject such inhibition in the name of freedom, though not of wisdom. Such doctrines demand rationalization, which can perhaps be found in a foreign culture, preferably not understood. India has accordingly been given the prestige of a healthy unashamed attitude to sexuality, proved by the *Kāmasūtra* and the erotic sculpture e. g. of Khajuraho. But while the Moslem invasion may have intensified shame, it did not introduce it into India; it may with its Persian strain have increased homosexuality, which was not necessary in the Hindu society, but there is in fact a strong strain of sexual repression and puritanism in India, beginning with Vedic times. In part this is paradoxically due to the nature of *tapas*, and its close connection with male sperm; indulgence destroys *tapa*s, and the sage should rise above desire for sexual experience. The erotic has not in fact the unqualified approval of the thinking class, though it certainly made inroads into it; the puritanical side always remains. Physical/sexual shame is in fact natural; on the purely sexual side it is one of nature's contraceptives, since that partakes of the unknown and, therefore, fearful. Freedom from sexual inhibition does not produce respect for others, nor, therefore, does it tend to the peace of society; paradoxically shame does, to the encouragement of individuality. Uninhibited sexuality, (most naturally, since most easily, male) ultimately favours the mass society; but India has aimed, at least since the Mauryas, at the cooperative diversified not the mass society.

Modern Western obscenity is a facet of existential puritanism; since there is non-being, being is a kind of elite, which, therefore, is wrong. Man is matter, and his values have, therefore, no reality. The materiality of man can be emphasized by the physical,

and his worthlessness by the ugly side of that. While human excreta were technological raw materials, they enjoyed no great prestige; when they have become unnecessary, and immediately removeabe by efficient sewage systems, they must be emphasized in the name of realism. Our obscenity is a rebellion with several aspects; against imperfection, with justification from Freud—there can be no guilt in scientific fact, hence no imperfection. There is also a revolt against beauty, which may be decided by other people; we have here besides a clear blasphemy of the old God, the rejection of outside authority or standard : criticism is a blasphemy of the free man–God, so that if beauty can only be attainend by self-improvement, it can have no validity for him, as he cannot be improved. But in the Western tradition beauty goes back to the human body which God made, and which demand respect on that authorship; hence denying it respect by obscenity is one way of insulting God. Without respect, (or at least the duty of it) for man, obscenity is impossible. But the Indian tradition is not one of respect for human nature, and its sense of beauty does not derive from the male human body; the body may be denounced for its corruption, but not because it has failed to meet a standard.

One must remember that sex has always been more dangerous to women than men, and shame, therefore, one of nature's protections. The exemplary sexual freedom ascribed to India was very much more for men; women are necessary or at least preferable for the business, and so we find a limited class of courtesans of what might be called second-class respectability. But there is no question that equal sexual liberty with men was not the Indian ideal for women. In a religious environment sex must be more than hedonism for women; it is the desacralization of life, removing the mystery and respect for it, in the modern West that permits the demand for equal enjoyment and irresponsibility with men for women also. Homosexuality remains unnecessary for either sex in traditional India. It is true that apart from the facts of human nature, which is not easily suppressed, sexuality did play a more important part in Indian theory; the emphasis on producing sons is certainly greater than in Europe; a woman had not really justified herself till she had done so. With the decline of the Buddhist monasteries/nunneries, the celibate life must lose prestige; and the form taken tends to be post–family in the *āśrama* theory. And women have not the same chance for fulfilment outside the home as they did in Europe. But if the sexual assumes greater proportion, it does not, therefore, get greater liberty.

It is not hard to find 'obscenities'/sexualities in the Vedic hymns, or rituals; but this means they are in religion, and, therefore, neither funny nor gratuitous; they are in fact part of the technology without which the fertility magic would not work. Just so the fertility aspects of the old rites demanded the coarse jokes of the Attic Old Comedy. But the progress is to decency; in ancient Rome it is remarkable not how coarse but how

decent Plautus is, and we can see the same progress taking place in India. Thus in the *Aśvamedha* the chief queen originally lay with the sacrificial horse (cf. the Irish rite recorded c. 1180 AD); later a robe is put over the unedifying sight. Indra's sexual exploits were doubtless originally to his glory, whether with Vilistengā, Dīrghajihvī or Ahalyā; in the classical story, besides brahman power being exalted, indecency is punished. Again in the classical story, Dīrghatamas' imitation of a bull became too much for his family, and they set him adrift down the Ganges; but he was only acting for himself (or possibly his patron) the cattle-beast to become cattle-est, i. e. Gotama, wealthiest. We might look at a verse of his.[1] The bearer, son of two living parents, having a purifier understanding, purifies beings with magic power, and the speckled milked one, the bull with much/good semen; he milks every day his white/semen liquid.

The conventional translation is much more respectable, but *asya* cannot be feminine. Dīrghatamas was not squeamish, though the conventional sense doubtless goes back to at least classical times.

There are many verses of *Ṛgveda* which conventionally translated (i. e. as by Sāyaṇa and his predecessors) make grammatical sense which means nothing, but for which a literal sexual translation gives sense and context. We might look at the word *urugāyá*, paraphrased by the word *krama* since very early times, and connected with *gam*=go, translated as 'wide-striding'. I am not sure that this is the original meaning;—*ya* should be a passive suffix. Viṣṇu, whose epithet this is, represents (according to Dandekar and others) the vivifying force that causes serection; *urugāya* (suffix—*a*) should then mean 'enlivening widely', or possibly 'in the wide part, the loins'. The liquid spring at the top of the (third) leg, *parame pade*, i. e. in the phallus of Viṣṇu, makes much more and more useful sense than in his footstep.[2]

We might turn to the Upaniṣads. In *BAU*[3] we read (with overtones of the fear of incest) how the male made the female from himself and copulated : she fled and became a cow, he followed as bull, and copulated, and so on. The account continues to be sexual, but significantly, it does not appear again in Brahmanic literature.

Again in *BAU*[4] I suspect the original meaning was far more physical

1. *sá váhniḥ putráḥ pitaráḥ pavítravān/punāti dhīró bhúvanānimāyáyā/ dhenúṁ ca pṛ́śniṁ vṛṣabháṁ suretasam/visvāhā śukrám páyo asya dhukṣata//* *ṚV*. I.160.3.
2. For *gāya*, root *jī(v)*, cf. Avestan gaetha, living creature. So too in *ṚV* 1.85.7c. *Viṣṇur yád dhāvad vṛṣabhám madacyútam*... Since Viṣṇu helps/When Viṣṇu helped the male, stirring lust (acc.) This is more in his line than gratuitously getting a drunkard to his feet.
3. 1.4
4. *Saiṣā kṣatrasya yonir yad brahma tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatāṁ gacchati, brahmaivāntata upaniśrayati*, 1.4.11,

than now conventionally translated. This is the origin of royal power, namely the creative power/word (brahma). Even if the king gets to highestness [in erection (and fertilizing the goddess of the land, *devi*, his queen is part of his duty)], it is only creative power he lays down in (the womb). The first sentence might refer to consecration, e. g. preparation by *tapas*, before intercourse that is to result in a prince. The conventional translation is an assertion of brahman superiority, but this was not accepted generally before the 6th centnry B.C. or universally before the 4th and the passage is much older. The fertility king is certainly Indo-European and early Indian; the early kings of Mathura are probably an example, where Kṛṣṇa kills Kaṁsa, and the early Śiśunagas of Magadha seem also to have been killed on loss of fertility.

BAU[1] is a good example of reused matter; as we have it, there is a verse followed by a sentence with no obvious connection, and usually not exactly translated. The verse goes back to *Atharvaveda*[2]

He was first born inside the womb. From the filled (testicles) he lifts it up full; the filled (womb) is sprinkled by the full (penis). And that also may we know today from which the liquid is transferred. (By such brahma knowledge we will control copulation, and not produce a daughter or a miscarriage). The *BAU* verse shows clear difference, but an originally sexual meaning remains possible, and, considering the date (any time between 900 and 600 BC, but after the *AV* verse), quite probable. The verse is certainly too early for the conventional transmigration.[3]

That is full, this is full/filled; it goes out from the filled to the filled. Taking the filled of the filled (from the filled, with gen.=abl., an incipient Prākritism) it is left just filled. (The filled penis fills the womb, which receiving that with which it is filled, remains filled).

That this was felt to be the meaning of the verse in 200 BC is not suggested; old verses slightly changed give authority to new doctrine. With the anti-ritual reaction of the 6th century BC, decisive with the rehandling of *BAU*[4] by Sāyakāyana c. 560, and its discovery of transcendence, that is, the rejection of material well being as the supreme

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1. 5.1.
2. *pūrvo ha jajñe sá u gárbha antáḥ//* 10.8.28d
   pūrṇāt pūrṇam údacati pūrṇam pūrṇena sicyate/
   utó tád adyá vidyāma pariṣicyáte// 10.8.29.
3. *pūrṇam adaḥ pūrṇam idam pūrṇam pūrṇāt udacyate/*
   pūrṇasya pūrṇam ādāya pūrṇam evāvaśiṣyate//
4. 3.4.
5. 2.113.

goal accelerated by the decline of the old true kṣattriyas and ever growing separation of brahmin caste, the obscene/sexual loses its base in (high-class) religion; with the triumph of asceticism among the thinking class, it has none at all; hence the way is open to the hedonistic sexuality of Vātsyāyana and the ***Kāmasūtra***. We can see the puritan strain in the thinking class in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[1] where King Puṇyakeśa Śibi in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* had to behave like a bull; he remarked 'This indeed has been quite a sacrifice !' and the rite was discontinued. By 500 BC this strain is triumphant, moving probably rapidly from the indifference of *BAU* to the abominable positions of Buddha's women, from which he fled, and the tirade against the flesh of ***Maitr. UP.*** (probably c. 120 B.C.). The intellectuals, hating sex, abandon the unthinking classes and emotionally religious to indulge without their rebuke.

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1. 2.113

THE TURKISH CONQUEST AND THE DARK AGE OF BENGALI LITERATURE

W. L. Smith

In discussions of the Turkish invasion of Bengal, the language of historians of Bengali literature sometimes takes on a tone that is almost melodramatic rather than scholarly and objective. S. K. Chatterji, for example, writes,

> "Bengal, at any rate West Bengal, was conquered by the Turks in 1203; and the conquest of Bengal by these ruthless foreigners was like a terrible hurricane which swept over the country, when a peace-loving people were subjected to all imaginable terrors and torments..."[1]

Sukumar Sen in his *History of Bengali Literature* writes,

> "In consequence of the atrocities directed mainly to looting of townships and to destruction of temples, monasteries and other seats of devotion and learning, which appeared as forts or palaces to the invaders, the intellectual activities of Bengal apparently were extinguished for a couple of centuries, and consequently we draw a perfect blank for the period in the literary and cultural history of the country."[2]

There can be no doubt that the Turkish invasion, like all invasions, was accompanied by bloodshed, rapine and destruction although it should be pointed out that its details are very poorly documented and there is little proof that it was unusually brutal or destructive. That problem that concerns us here is that posed in the second quotation : what effect did the conquest have on the development of medieval Bengali literature ? The period of Old Bengali literature is placed between 950-1200 and it is followed in the

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1. *Languages and Literatures of Modern India,* Calcutta, 1963, p. 160.
2. Revised ed., New Delhi, 1971, p. 35.

fifteenth by early Middle Bengali literature.[1] To the intervening centuries no literary work in Bengali can be assigned. The cutoff date for the Old Bengali period coincides with the invasion and thus it might seem likely that the sterile period that followed was a result of it. When reading descriptions like those above, one suspects that they had been written with one eye on an apparently parallel event in western European history : the overthrow of the western Roman empire by Germanic barbarians in the fifth century. This is indicated by the very term applied to this period—the Dark Period or Dark Age (Beng. *tāmasayuga*). In his comprehensive history of Bengali literature, Asitkumar Bandyopadhyaya makes this parallel explicit by making a detailed comparison of the European Dark Ages and subsequent Age of Faith with the Bengali Dark Age and subsequent Vaiṣṇava Age.[2]

The term "Dark Age" indicates a period of intellectual stagnation, in our case a blank chapter in the history of Bengali literature. Only one work, however, the mystic *Caryāpada*-s can be dated to the pre-invasion period so this one work constitutes the entire body of Old Bengali literature. It is as well a controversial work for many scholars doubt that its language is Old Bengalī. Assamese and Oriya scholars claim that it is composed in Old Assamese or Old Oriya respectively[3] while others, less convincingly, believe it is Old Hindi or Old Maithili. Still others consider it Apabhraṃśa. A last suggestion is that its language may represent a supra-regional sectarian or literary dialect.[4] No rigorous examination of the language of the *Caryāpada*-s has yet been made and until it has, its classification as Old Bengali remains disputable. Thus it is far from certain whether the coming of the Turks disrupted the production of a written Bengali literature and consequently whether this blank chapter is an hiatus at all.

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1. The oldest extant work in Middle Bengali is the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan* of Baṛu Caṇḍīdāsa. Its date is still a matter of controversy but most scholars agree that it was written in the 15th century at the latest.
2. *Bāṅglā Sāhityer Itibṛtti*, I, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1970, pp. 225-6. The author also refers to the "inhumane barbarity" (*amānuṣik barbartā*) of the Turks (p. 226). The Turks, in any case, were not barbarians in the sense of coming from a region with a lower level of civilization. At this time Central Asia, their homeland, was a highly cultured, if not the most cultured, region in the world.
3. For the arguments one needs merely to look in any history of Assamese or Oriya literature. Editions of the *Caryāpada*-s have appeared in both these languages.
4. Paresh Chandra Majumdar in *A Historical Phonology of Oriya* wonders "why the so-called Old Bengali texts of 10-12th century A.D. with all the common features of the eastern languages and the archaisms of *Avahaṭṭa* should not be taken as some kind of literary form of the spoken Neo-Magadhan language". Calcutta 1970, p. iii.

It should be remembered that the conquest was a bold stroke undertaken by a relatively small number of daring horsemen with a modicum of initial success. After the Sena kings were ejected from parts of West and North Bengal their successors continued to rule elsewhere for several generations while in the eastern parts of Bengal other minor Hindu dynasties ruled on undisturbed. At the onset, in fact, this Muslim kingdom was "nothing more than a small principality in the northwestern part of Bengal while the vast territory towards the north, east and south and south-west lay outside (it)."[1] Another 250 years were to pass before the whole of present-day Bengal was to fall under Muslim control, therefore, if independent Hindu rulers and intellectuals were interested in promoting a literature in the vernacular, the opportunity to do so was there. One notes that once Muslim control was relatively complete, a flourishing Bengali literature made its appearance.

The invasion resulted in the destruction of libraries and monasteries and the scattering and demoralization of the upper classes; many intellectuals fled to Nepal and Mithila while those that remained found themselves deprived of the major source of patronage because of the downfall of the Senas. Yet this could not have had a decisive effect on the growth of any literature in Bengali. In its earliest stage it must have been predominately oral, so there could have been little in the way of Bengali books in the libraries to be destroyed; and as Bengali, unlike Sanskrit, was not dependent upon institutions or monopolized by any caste, its fate was not tied to these. It should be noted that in spite of these vicissitudes Sanskrit literature itself continued to be written in Bengal : according to the *History and Culture of the Indian People* during this period, "political conditions did not naturally affect Sanskrit literature, and despite growing Muslim domination in parts of the country works continued to be produced... (a) regional survey indicates that the bulk of the production came from the South, followed by Bengal, Mithila and Western India."[2] Thus if Sanskrit literature created and sustained by the very classes who would suffer most by the Turkish occupation maintained its continuity, how can one speak of a cultural dark age ?

It was the purist Brahmans rather than the Muslim Turks who set up obstacles to the free development of writing in Bengali. The Paṇḍits, then as later, regarded the vernacular as barbaric and beneath their notice.[3] In addition they opposed its being as a vehicle for the transmission of matter from the classical literature :

1. Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, Dacca, 1959, p. 33.
2. Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay 1960, pp. 464-5.
3. This was still the case five centuries later, see T. W. Clark, the Languages of Calcutta, *B. S. O. A. S.*, 1956, xviii, p. 457.

aṣṭādaśapurāṇāni rāmasya caritāni ca /
bhāṣāyāṁ mānavaḥ śrutvā rauravaṁ narakaṁ brajet //[1]

A person hearing the eighteen *purāṇa*-s or the story of Rāma in the vernacular goes to the hell called Raurava.

This prohibition, current in medieval Bengal, is of considerable significance because it is precisely this type of literature—adaptions and translations of the epics and the *purāṇa*-s—which makes up much of the oldest extant literature, and it is interesting to note that such adaptions and translations were freely supported by Muslim rulers and officials. Mālādhara Basu who wrote his *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* between 1473 and 1480 was given the sobriquet of Guṇarāja-Khān by Sultan Ruknuddīn Bārbak Shāh (1459-1474). The court of this same sultan was visited by Kṛttibās Ojhā, writer of the first and most popular of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*-s.[2] The first Bengali poet to treat a theme from the *Mahābhārata*, Parameśvara Dāsa, was the court poet of Parāgal Khān, governor of Chittagong under Husain Shāh (1493-1519). Parāgal Khān's son, Nasrat Khān, in his turn had the poet Śrīkara Nandī translate the *Jaiminiya-Saṃhitā* into Bengali. The sultans patronized Sanskrit literature as well.[3]

It is not difficult to understand why Muslims would be active patrons and promoters of the vernacular; they had severed their political connections with Delhi long before (in 1338) and had completely acclimatized themselves to their new homeland. As they took their wives from the subject population, they had become Bengali speakers a generation or two after their arrival. Unlike the Hindu literati, they were not blinded by an admiration for the classical Sanskritic past and so took pride in calling themselves Bengali and studying the Bengali language and literature.[4]

This translation literature is one of the three main genres of Middle Bengali literature. The second of the three, Vaiṣṇava literature, appeared under different conditions and was inspired by somewhat different motives. For the Vaiṣṇavas writings in the vernacular were a tool for proselytization. However, as Vaiṣṇava reformism did not really get under way until the beginning of the sixteenth century, it falls outside our scope. The third genre, in many ways the most interesting, is *maṅgala* poetry, a type of religious poetry concerned with local Hinduized deities. The Muslim occupation seems to have made a definite, though indirect contribution to its growth. By weakening the hold of

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1. Quoted by Dineshchandra Sen in *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, 2nd. ed., Calcutta, 1954, p. 7.
2. Sukhmay Mukhopadhyaya, *Kṛttibāsa-Paricaya*, Calcutta 1959, p. 49.
3. For a few examples see R. C. Majumdar, *History of Medieval Bengal*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 264.
4. Abdul Karim, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

orthodox Hinduism over Bengali society the Muslim presence stimulated conditions under which this local, non-Sanskritic literature could mature. In the words of Dušan Zbavitel, "by disrupting the country's connection with orthodox Hindu learning and the official Sanskrit culture, they created enough space for a natural and free evolution of domestic elements, many of which would hardly have succeeded in surviving stronger pressure from above."[1] This helps to explain the uniqueness of *maṅgala* poetry : all of India's language regions possess an oral folk literature centered around local deities, but only in Bengal was it able to evolve into a voluminous, sophisticated written literature.

Thus we can see that the "dark period" of Bengali literature cannot be simply attributed to the destruction and dislocations brought about by the Turkish invaders. In contrast, the presence of the Turks stimulated the growth of the vernacular literature in some ways. This leads us back to our original question : if the invasion was not responsible, what was then the cause of this two-hundred year gap in the history of Bengali literature (if we assume the *Caryāpada*-s are Bengali) or, if they are not, why is there no Bengali literature from the early medieval period ? To answer this we can go back to the Muslim patrons of Bengali poets at the end of the fifteenth century. The sultans of Bengal would only have deigned to honour poets of Bengali if there had already then existed a vernacular literature already developed, recognized and invested with sufficient prestige for it to cast credit on a ruler to honour its leading practioners. This sudden flowering of Bengali literature is a culmination, not a beginning; here Middle Bengali literature does not come into being, but comes of age. Its appearance obviously marked the end of a long period of maturation as an oral folk poetry was moulded into a vehicle for a written literature.

The situation in the language regions adjacent to Bengal is very similar. In Oriya there are inscriptions which date back to the eleventh century yet the oldest extant literature dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century when the Śūdra poet Sāraḷā Dāsa wrote an Oriya version of the *Mahābhārata* which is as long as the Sanskrit original.[2] That he could have successfully composed such a huge work in the Oriya language presupposes a long period of literary development. Between the earliest inscriptions and Sāraḷā Dāsa we have a gap of four centuries. As Orissa did not fall to the Muslims until the sixteenth century, foreign invasion could not have played a role here. Mayadhara Manasinha places the blame on the Brahman caste. "Searches" (for earlier works in

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1. *Bengali Literature, A History of Indian Literature*, vol. IX, Fasc. 3, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 135.
2. Sāralā Dāsa can be placed in the first quarter of the 15th century. A few short works are possibly shorter, but Sāralā Dāsa is the first major poet in Oriya. See Surendra Mahānti, *Oṛiā Sāhityara Ādiparba*, Cuttack, 1963, p. 87.

Oriya), he writes, "are most likely to succeed because, during this period of four to five centuries, Sanskrit based Brahmanism held an almost totalitarian sway over the land".[1]

Turning to the north, we see that in Assam literature appears at roughly the same time, circa 1350-1400[2] and this earliest literature is written in more or less standardized Middle Assamese literary language which would continue to be used until modern times. Assam, like Orissa, remained independent much longer than Bengal. In all three languages the case is the same; the apparently sudden appearance of a literature whose norms in language, vocabulary, literary devices and themes are already set. All early works in Bengali, Oriya and Assamese show a deep acquaintance with Sanskrit, all are recastings of epic and pauranic materials. In the oldest extant Bengali work, the *Śrikṛṣṇakirtan*, for example, we notice that the greater part of the *upamā*-s are taken directly from Sanskrit.[3]

An Assamese scholar, Satyendranāth Śarmmā, gives the following reasons for the lack of literature before Mādhava-Kāndali : political disorder, heavy, rainfall, insects, imperfect techniques for preserving books and the dearth of interest in preserving them.[4] A hot, damp climate which leads to the rapid deterioration of books and the prevalence of numerous species of insects which feed on them account for the destruction of large numbers of old manuscripts, but the last factor was probably the critical one. Once literary norms had been more or less set, the efforts of countless earlier poets who had created them through centuries of experimentation must have appeared clumsy and outdated. Once a theme was treated by a skilled poet in the new literary style, the older archaic treatments would tend to be discarded. A few examples of this tendency can be cited. In the biographical section of his ***Manasā Maṅgala*** the Bengali poet Bijay Gupta criticizes his predecessor Hari Datta, whose verse, he tells us, was clumsy and not sweet-sounding and whose song no one heeded. Thus Hari Datta's poem has disappeared in the course of time (***haridattera gita lopta pāila ei kāle***).[5] Two centuries after Mādhava Kāndali wrote his Assamese ***Rāmāyaṇa*** the Vaiṣṇava reformer Ananta Kāndali, dissatisfied because it lacked the ***bhakti*** spirit, decided to write another version. Śaṅkaradeva inter-

1. *History of Oriya Literature*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 28.
2. Mādhava Kāndali, the author of a *Rāmāyaṇa*, is definitely anterior to the Vaiṣṇava reformer Śaṅkaradeva (born 1449). Harivara Vipra who wrote on epic themes may have been active in the last half of the 14th century. See M. Neog, *Assamese Literature before Śaṅkaradeva* in *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, gen. ed. B. K. Kakati, Gauhati, 1953.
3. Amitrasūdan Bhaṭṭācārya, *Baṛucaṇḍidāser Śrikṛṣṇakirtan*, 3rd ed. Calcutta, 1975, p. 69ff.
4. *Asamiyā Sāhityar Itibṛtti*, Gauhati, 1959, p. 17.
5. Bijay Gupta, *Padma-Purāṇa*, ed. by Jayntakumār Dāsgupta, University of Calcutta, 1962,

vened to save Mādhava Kāndali's version from being lost.[1] Many other poets were not as fortunate. Had not the example of western scholarship and the printing press intervened, a great deal of what we now possess probably would have been lost as well. Thus these blank chapters in the history of Bengali literature are not the result of works not having been composed, but not having been preserved. This earliest period was one of experimentation and development, the fruits of which led to the flowering of the medieval literatures, and once the efforts of these pioneers were crowned with success, their works were consigned to oblivion.

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1. U. C. Lekharu, *Assamese Versions of the Rāmāyaṇa*, in B. K. Kakati, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

THE PAÑJĪ-PRABANDHA AND ITS IMPACT ON MAITHILA SOCIETY

Vijay Kumar Thakur

The social structure of medieval Mithilā, like the rest of contemporary India, was based on the feudal pattern. The spirit of localism, proliferation of castes, social immobility and closed economy characterised the caste villages, which were hardly affected by any change at the top. Stability was synonymous with an increasing hardening of the social structure. This naturally led to an insistence on the purity of lineage and thereby gave prominence to birth, accomplishments and character. The emergence of Kulīnism as a powerful social force can be properly understood in this light. For maintaining the purity of blood, it was enjoined that marriage relations should be established only within the territorial castes and a bride must be more than fifth in descent on the mother's side and more than sixth in descent on the father's from the last common ancestor of her and the bridegroom. This naturally created the need for a geneological chart of every family, known as the *Pañji* system.

It would be wrong to attribute the origin of the *Pañji* system to the mythical hero Ādiśūra (9th century A. D.)[1]. As a matter of fact the custom of keeping geneologies goes back to the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (7th century A. D.). He mentions the term *samūha-lekhyāni* in the first chapter of his famous work *Tantravārtika* and refers to the ancient tradition of keeping geneological records (*samūha-lekhya*)[2] by the nobles of the society to protect their caste and purity of blood. This was, however, organised on sound lines

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1. R. K. Chaudhary, *The Mithilā in the Age of Vidyāpati* (1976), p. 111; Idem, 'Social Structure in Medieval Mithilā' (c. A. D. 1200-1600), *Indian Society : Historical Probings* (Eds. R. S. Sharma and V. N. Jha 1977), pp. 218-19.
   Ādiśūra cannot be regarded as a historical king of Mithilā, cf. U. Thakur, *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 444.
2. *Tantravārtika*, chapter I, II.2.

during the reign of Harisiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty (A. D. 1285-1324) and came to be known as the *Pañji-Probandha*. These records were kept by both the Maithila brāhmaṇas and the Karaṇa Kāyasthas as well as by some other castes such as the sūrī (*teli* or oilman) whose geneological records are still lying with a sūrī *Pañjikāra* of Madhepur[1].

The *Pañji*-s compiled a few years after the beginning of Harisiṁhadeva's reign (c. A. D. 1309-10), which later came to be copied down by several authorised *Pañjikāra*-s between A. D. 1327 to A. D. 1352[2], when Harisiṁhadeva was no longer on the scene. It took at least fifteen years to collect and compile all the geneological records kept by the individuals in the name of *Vamśa-vṛkṣa* or family-tree in different villages of Mithila. On scrutiny, it was found that these records did not contain all the details required for the purpose—eight generations each from mother's and father's side. However, the available material was collected, compared, collated, edited and compiled to make it a compact and scientific document for future guidance of Mithila. Their records, known as *Mūla Pañji*-s became so voluminous that for the sake of convenience it was divided into different branches detailing the records of a particular *gotra* and came to be known as *Śākhā Pañji*-s. Similarly we have the *Patra-Pañji*-s which contain the names of the branches (*śākhā*-s) of every *Mūla*. Besides these *Pañji*-s, a separate register detailing the demerits (*doṣa* or *dūṣana*) of a particular sub-caste, *gotra* or *mūla* was also prepared which was known as *Dūṣana-Pañji* and was kept a secret practice which is still followed strictly.

This new attempt at social reorganisation constitutes a land-mark in history of Mithilā. Introduced some six hundred years ago, it continues to dominate the social life of Mithila with all its baneful implications. It has been claimed that the *Pañjī* system primarily a measure of social re-organisation designed to conserve the purity of the Maithila race and to uphold the distinctive characteristics of Maithila culture, but it set up such new standards of social values that in effect it revolutionised the entire out-look of society and shaped the future destiny of Mithila in such a manner as it still exists with all its influences[3]. But a thorough analysis of the available facts sounds the hollowness of such a view and betrays the inherent conservatism of certain sections of the Maithila society.

The propounders of this social reform, undoubtedly had sincere motive for preserving social order and encouraging virtuous and noble life, but in course of time the whole purpose came to be defeated. To begin with, the introduction of the *Pañji* system

1. Cf. B. B. Verma, *Maithilā Karaṇa Kāyasthaka Pañjīka Sarvekṣaṇa*, p. 39.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
3. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Harihara (ed. R. N. Jha) Introduction, p. 30.

brought in its train group stratification among the brāhmaṇas of Mithilā. Initially, those Maithila brāhmaṇas who performed the *Agnihotra* and devoted all their time to religious worship were given the first place and were called the *Śrotriya*-s. They were followed by the *Jogya*-s and the *Jaibāra*-s respectively. This classification was made in hierarchical order and virtually they became exclusive marital groups with even interdining restricted to one's own group. In course of time, two more social groups emerged due to marriage alliances between the *Jogya*-s and the *Jaibāra*-s. These two groups, namely, the *Pañjibaddha* and the *Banśaja*, were treated as lower than the *Jogya*-s but higher than the *Jaibāra*-s[1]. Thus, the so-called reconstitution of the society aimed at uniting the Maithila brāhmaṇas achieved exactly the opposite. It divided them into five sub-castes and virtually turned them into so many warring groups[2]. The Kāyasthas also suffered a somewhat similar fate[3]. Ultimately, the whole thing became so rigid that marriages could be arranged between the members of the same sub-caste only or they had to face excommunication, sometimes disinheritance too, by the members of their own sub-caste[4].

The *Pañji* system introduced the concept of *mūla* in Mithilā. It indicated either the original homeland or the territorial unit of the *Bijipuruṣa* and a man of the same *mūla* was not allowed to marry a girl of his own *mūla*. Since with the introduction of the *Pañji* system marriages came to be contracted within the forbidden degrees of relationship, it became obligatory for every person to get a certificate of non-relationship (*aśvajanapatra*) between the two contracting parties from the *Pañjikāra*. This led to the emergence of a new functional group, the *Ghaṭaka*-s (marriage negotiators), who had little scruples in indulging unfair means. As the keeping of the *Pañji*-s assumed gigantic proportions, the influence of *Pañjikāra*-s increased immensely and they too, like the *Ghaṭaka*-s, indulged in extorting money especially from the poor before issuing "no-objection" certificates. In course of time they became professionals and the *Pañjikāra*-s became hereditary, irrespective of their learning and efficiency[5].

The *Pañji* system was followed by rigid accuracy right from its inception and anybody could improve his social status by establishing marital relationship with the upper class *mūla*-s. But those who failed to establish matrimonial alliances with persons of equal status (*mūla*-s) for three generations came to be downgraded either on maternal or paternal side and were treated as a *Gṛhastha* (fallen from the original track). On the

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1. B. Saraswati, 'The Institution of Pañji Among Maithila Brahmans' *Man in India*, Vol. 42, No. 4 p. 271.
2. U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā* (1956), p. 363.
3. R. K. Chaudhary, *The Mithilā in the Age of Vidyāpati*, p. 114.
4. U. Thakur, *op. cit*, p. 363.
5. *Ibid.*, pp.363-64.

other hand, a person came to be upgraded if he succeeded in contracting a matrimonial alliance with a member of the upper class *mūla*. This system, known as *Vyavasthā*, involved a set price to be paid for either coming down or going up in the inverse ratio or even vice-versa[1]. In other words, those who acquired wealth could also upgrade their status in matters of *mūla* and *jāti* through barter in a society which was feudal in character and where money determined one's purity of caste and relative gradation in the social hierarchy. Naturally, the poor were the silent spectators and the worst victims of the *Pañjī* regulations.

One of the worst effects of the *Pañji* system was the birth of *Bikauā* (one who is for sale) brāhmaṇas. Most of the Maithila brāhmaṇa scholars, who are not ready to face the truth, however, style them as *Kulīna*-s or *Bhalamānuṣa*-s[2]. But Risley rightly calls them *Bikauā*-s (a term widely current in Mithila) meaning a saleable person, who married sometimes as many as fifty wives[3]. Initially, the classification of the *Kulīna*-s was solely based on the merit of religious observances, but later, due to exaggerated social importance placed on the value of being born in a "high *Kūla*", they gave up all their sacred practices and adopted marriage as a profession as the *Gṛhastha*-s were always ready to contract matrimonial relationship with them in order to raise their own status in society. Polygamy, therefore, became a regular practice with these so-called *Kulīna*-s or *Bhalamānuṣa*-s, who demanded a substantial amount of dowry in every marriage as a matter of right. The married girls of such marriages lived mostly in their parents' homes where their husbands came once in two or three years only to extort their dues from their fathers-in-law. To top it all, these *Bikauā*-s were generally illiterate and stupid, but then they were the *Kulīna*-s of a society where wit and learning hardly earned any social prestige. One can imagine the demoralising effects of this system on the majority of the population.

The *Pañji* system also gave rise to a new system of contracting marriage i.e., the *Sabhā-gāchhi* marriage, which was yet another peculiar aspect of Maithila social life having no parallel elsewhere. In fact, for centuries even after the enforcement of the *Pañji-Prabandha* by Harisiṁhadeva, the negotiation and settlement of marriages of all the five sub-castes of the Maithila brāhmaṇas took place at their homes. The *Sabhā-gāchhi*-s or the fixed places for negotiating matrimonial alliances, are of comparatively recent growth. Formerly the *Sabhā* used to be held during the *Śuddha* (sacred) days at different places such as Saurāṭh, Bhakharail, Partpur, Sajhuār, Sahesaula, Bangāon and Govindpur-Harrāhi of the Madhubani, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur and Purnea districts

1. R. K. Chaudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
2. J. K. Mishra, *A History of Maithilī Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.
3. *The People of India*, p. 215.

respectively. Only the Saurātha *Sabhā*, survives till the present. It is the oldest *Sabhā-gāchhi* and lies at the centre of Mithila[1]. In and about this village lived and taught eminent *Paṇḍita*-s who were also authorities on geneological matters. In course of time, when the geneological tables became voluminous it was arranged that people of Mithila should come at this place in order to contract matrimonial alliances in accordance with the *Pañji-Prabandha*. This also explains the origin of other *Sabhā-gāchhi*-s. It was thus a big social gathering where people not only contracted matrimonial alliances but also met thier friends and relatives. These institutions now have, however, lost their original character and have rightly become objects of ridicule among the progressive sections of the society.

As far as women were concerned, the *Pañjī* system led to a general deterioration in their status. The system of Kulīnism gave impetus to child marriage and the whole of Maithilī literature is replete with such references. Sometimes from financial considerations, a girl of eleven or twelve was handed over as a wife even to a grey-haired *Bikauā* and most of them turned widows even before they reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the death of one *Kulīna* or *Bhalamānuṣa* meant widowhood for at least twenty to thirty women or even more[2]. Their position in the society was deplorable and it came to be regarded as inauspicious to have a look at thier face. As a result, the ill-fated girls were reduced to a band af despised creatures, worse than the slaves. Due to social reform movements in Bengal and elsewhere, widows were given certain legal rights, but Mithila remained unaffected by these movements and changes.

The system of Kulīnism led to the growth of conservative outlook among the Maithilas in general, and brāhmaṇas in particular, and retarded the social progress to an extent that even today Mithila has not been able to free herself from its baneful influences. Due to lack of any prospect for political progress, the Maithilas diverted their minds towards the purity of race and culture and the system under discussion afforded good food for their intellectual diversions[3]. In effect, it killed the initiative of a large number of people who were more interested in the development of their own section, than in the development of the society at large. It led to excessive orthodoxy and empty formalism. Distinctions created barriers between men and a violation of the new social rules led to social ostracism. This naturally created a situation in which this newly created class put more premium on their so-called purity of blood than on any thing else.

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1. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. III, p. 542.
2. In certain provinces girls numbering a hundred or more were married to one man (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 468-70).
3. R. K. Chaudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

The rules of endogamy now came to govern the relation between different castes and various other groups. Acceptance of food from other caste groups was interdicted and pursuit of hereditary profession was insisted[1]. Formerly different castes lived together but now things had come to such a pass that this practice came to be strongly discouraged. Thus, one can discern a growing tendency towards creating exclusive social groups. Furthermore, wealth now came to be regarded as an important determining factor of one's social status and prestige. Mahamahopādhyāya Harihara categorically states that riches alone make the life of a man successful on the earth[2]. Wealth determined the wisdom of a man[3], and with its disappearance vanished all the good qualities of a human being[4]. Thus, in the Maithila society of the period under review only two things mattered—purity of blood and wealth, which are among the important characteristics of a feudal set-up.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
2. *Hariharasūktimuktāvalī*, XII.25.
3. Mitra-Majumdar, *Vidyāpati*, verse no. 494 : वैभव गेला रहत विवेक, तैसन पुरुष लाखे माह एक ।
4. *Ibid.*, No. 461 : वैभवगेले भलाहुमंदि भास, आपन पराभव पर उपहास ।

SOME SANSKRIT WORKS ON KARMAS AND THEIR RESULTS

Allen W. Thrasher

Sanskrit literature has within it a genre concerned with the details of works and their results. This is called *karma-vipāka* or "works and their fruitions" (or "retributions"). Most of them are available only in manuscript, and only two of them are readily available in print. Manuscript catalogues usually classify them under *dharma-śāstra* (religious law), but sometimes also under *jyotiṣa* (astronomy and astrology) and *āyur-veda* (medicine). As we shall see, they partake of the nature of all these. *Karma-vipāka* works may be divided into the retrospective, those that diagnose unpleasantness in terms of the sins of one's prior lives and prescribe penances as countermeasures, and the prospective, those that warn what one will suffer if one commits a certain sin. Both sorts go into great detail. They are little concerned with the results of good deeds. Books solely on *karma-vipāka* appear to be a product of medieval India; however, they depend upon and heavily quote earlier *sections* on *karma-vipāka* from the Purāṇas and *dharma-śāstra* literature.

Some of the characteristics of their thought that are of particular interest are these: They show an obsession with food—eating disgusting substances is made one of the most important punishments in the hells. Congenital malformations are thought of not only as the punishments or results of antenatal sins, but also as "signs" (*cihna, liṅga*) of the sins, in language like that used in books of palmistry and astrology to explain how bodily marks or positions of the planets indicate good or bad luck and personality traits by acting as "signs". This may indicate that astrology and palmistry assume, without feeling the need to say it explicitly, that bodily marks and one's natal horoscope are the results of one's past *karma* from previous lives. The language the *karma-vipāka* books use also sometimes resembles that used elsewhere in explanations of how portents (*adbhuta*), astral or meteorological phenomena that violate the regular order of nature, come about: the evil deeds of a particular country accumulate until they produce "signs" manifesting the particular nature of their misdeeds. It seems as if these "signs" of individual or public misdeeds are not so much punishments as instruments to allow prudent men to wipe out

those past sins by appropriate counter-measures. However, it is not explicitly stated that this manifestation of "signs" is the act of a just and benevolent Providence giving fair warning before proceeding to further disciplinary measures, as one might anticipate. Rather it seems to be the working out of a moral order inherent to the cosmos.

Another point of interest is that it is assumed that one continually and rather frequently returns to the human state, which is thus conceived as central. Indian works of an ascetic and monastic tendency, on the other hand, emphasize the rareness of human birth and the difficulty of attaining it. This is particularly true of the Buddhist texts, more than of the Hindu ascetic works, but the Hindu works also contain this theme to some extent.

One thing that seems to be lacking is a philosophical discussion of why penances (*prāyaścitta*-s) work as countermeasures: Do they propitiate a personal God who has control of the results of *karma*, or do they set up an equal and opposite counter-*karma* to the past bad *karma*, or do they exhaust the imperative that the sinner suffer by the inconveniences, expense, and discomfort they involve, or what ?

Now let us look closely at the two printed texts that so far I have been able to examine in detail. The first of these is the *Karmavipākasaṁhitā*, "Compendium of Works and their Retributions"[1]. The *Karmavipākasaṁhitā* is a work of a somewhat popular nature, as shown by the fact that it is in barbarous Sanskrit (e.g. it habitually uses the optative in a preterite sense). However, it is explicitly meant to be used by a brahman to diagnose the problems of others who come to him in their difficulties; it does not appear to have been designed for the layman to consult for himself, though perhaps that is being done with the printed editions nowadays. The book also shows a fair amount of concern with sins against brahmans, such as stealing a brahman's gold. The astrological knowledge required for using it (or for writing it) is extremely rudimentary. We may, therefore, assume it was written by a semi-educated village brahman and meant to be used by other brahmans of the same sort. However, it is possible that there is some deliberation in its use of corrupt Sanskrit, heavily influenced by some vernacular, and that this is not merely the result of ignorance. It may be that the stories in it were meant to be read out to the client and to be more or less understood by him without much translation by the priest.

The date of the work is unknown. It appears that it was composed after the Muslims took over Afghanistan, because in several places it talks of living in Gandhāra

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1. It is currently available in three editions: ed. Śambhudatta Tripāṭhī Śāstrī, Varanasi: Thakurprasad and Sons Booksellers, Saṁvat 2005 (1947 A. D.); ed. Rāmatej Pāṇḍeya, Varanasi Bambaī Pustakālaya, 1970 A. D.; ed. Śivagovinda Dīkṣita Sāmavedī : Lakhnau : Tejkumar Press, 1968 A. D., 5th ed.

with barbarians, eating with them, and learning their sciences, as sins, assuming that Gandhāra is ethnically and culturally alien. However, this might be a reference to earlier Greek and Persian influences there.

The book contains one chapter for each quarter (*pāda*) of each of the twenty-seven signs of the lunar zodiac (*nakṣatra*). Each chapter contains a story of a past life and its good and bad deeds, their punishments and rewards in subsequent births ending with the present one, and an appropriate penance. The standard process is of sinning in a human life, going off to an appropriate hell, then experiencing one or more animal lives, and then being reborn as a human being and experiencing of one's sins in that state. The primary punishment is lack of sons, to which is sometimes added poverty, and somewhat less often illness. The stories are very specific. Each one contains the name of the village where the past life took place, of the principal (male) actor, and of his wife. Is this based on purported reminiscences of past lives by historically real individuals? Probably not, for it would be most unlikely that the compiler could have come across more than a handful of such instances, if any, in his own neighbourhood, and until modern times there would be no way of mounting a "research project" to collect over a wide extent of space and time, incidents enough to make the one hundred and eight stories of the book. Or is the abundance of detail "pious fraud"? We should not rule out the possibility that much of this is not meant very seriously. The most orthodox Hindu tradition itself contains the notion of legends that are meant not to be taken as narratives of facts, but as meant to praise some action and create a positive attitude towards it (the *arthavāda*-s of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā). Or, finally, is it that the author thought that whatever was edifying must be in some sense true ?

It is clear that each sin and each good deed has to be rewarded separately. They do not add up to a sum total which then is rewarded as a whole.

The stories are applied to individual cases thus. All of them saying that the client is presently suffering from sonlessness, the day of his birth is determined, and the story of his past lives is read out to him, and the attached penance prescribed. The book does take the risk of exposing itself to falisfication, because it frequently gives details of the present life as well as the past one, for instance caste, economic status, and the particular form that sonlessness takes, such as failure of the wife to conceive, repeated miscarriage, loss of sons in infancy, etc. However, if the client objects that the details do not apply in his case, the consultant could respond that his birthday was inaccurately recorded, and look for a nearby chapter whose narrative would fit the case better.

The penances prescribed are not dramatic or painful, but so to speak Vedic and tranquil (*saumya*). They consist of fasting, sacrificial rituals, feeding brahmans, and paying for works of public utility. It is noteworthy that all involve a reintegration with

society, by such works of public utility, feeding large numbers of people in the course of the sacrifice, gifts to several brahmans, or the like. In fact, one must feed several brahmans before one even makes a consultation to find out the cause of one's troubles from the book. Gifts to single indiduals are not enough.

The second *karm-vipāka* work easily available in print is on a higher level of learning and from a higher social milieu. It is the *Madanamahārṇava*, "Madana's Great Ocean", composed by Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa under the patronage of Madanapāla, king of Kāṣṭhā, a small kingdom north of Delhi. It comes from the latter half of the fourteenth century[1]. It is an exhaustive compilation of illness and the sins which cause them. There are no detailed stories, merely one sin given as the cause of one illness, along with the appropriate penance, the rites for which are given in great detail, so that one does not have to consult other books to know how to perform them. It is based upon and quotes abundantly from Purāṇas, Dharma-Śāstras, Smṛtis, and previous *karma-vipāka* works, some of which seem to be lost. In this book it is not sonlessness that is the principal punishment for sin in the next human birth, but disease. Disease includes, it should be mentioned, such afflictions as congenital deformities and possession by demons and planetary spirits.

The *Madanamahārṇava* discusses a few abstract questions. For example, the objection arises that an illness, such as having bad fingernails, is the last remnant of former evil works, after hells and animal births, whose residual force (*apūrva*) exhausts itself by producing the illness, so that penances are useless. The response is that authoritative texts say that the results of a sin are experienced in seven human births, and since one cannot tell how many of the seven one has left, it is more prudent to do the penance so as to remove all risk of further suffering.

There is a general principle, usually implicit rather than explicit, that the punishment should fit the crime in that the illness should strike the organ with which the sin was committed. There is a regular pattern, n e v e r made explicit as an abstract principle, that it is fitting that the punishment should deprive the culprit of the good sought by his sin. On the other hand, there is no principle that can be seen that determines what penances are appropriate.

The rest of the *karma-vipāka* literature is in manuscript libraries, mostly in India, and in rare printed books. A large number of titles can be found in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* under the words *karma-vipāka* and *jñānārṇava* and *jñānabhāskara* (the names of one or more important and popular works). Further study of this neglected genre would repay the efforts of Indian *dharma-śāstra*, religion, astrology, and medicine.

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1. Edited by Embar Krishanamacharya and M. R. Nambiyar, Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1953, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 117.

SECTION VII

Art and Architecture

MUSIC AND DANCE IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

Suresh Chandra Banerji

Music is, perhaps, co-eval with civilisation. In India the pre-vedic Indus civilisation, dating back to 3000 B. C. or earlier, reveals the cultivation of music. Among the relics we find the following musical instruments : flute, lute etc. There are figures of men and women in dancing postures.

Saṅgīta has been included since early times among the arts recognised in India. It denotes vocal music (*gīta*), instrumental music (*vādya*) and dance (*nṛtta*). *Saṅgīta* in India was not merely a means of entertainment, but also a means of pleasing gods. The *Sāmaveda* is the Veda of chants meant for accompaniment to sacrifices. In the *Bhagavadgītā* the Lord says—*vedānāṁ sāmavedo'smi*; of the Vedas, I am the *Sāmaveda.*

The *Ṛgveda* contains a section called *Pragātha* which is full of songs. Incidentally it may be noted that the Vedic accent is musical.

In later times, hundreds of hymns were composed in lyrical style and melodious metres.

The institution of *Devadāsī*-s (girls dedicated to temples), who were believed to please deities by their dance, is quite old.

In medieval times, many persons devoted to Kṛṣṇa, composed songs of great appeal to the masses. In Sanskrit, Jayadeva stands pre-eminent as a composer of the masterly lyric, *Gītagovinda*. Vidyāpati of Mithilā and Caṇḍīdāsa of Bengal acquired undying fame by composing *padāvalī*-s.

We know of a large number of devotees who sought to please God through songs. Mīrā Bāi is well-known for her soul elevating *bhajan*-s (devotional songs). In recent times, Rāmaprasād of Bengal left an indelible impress on devotional life by his inimitable *Śākta* songs. *Śākta Padāvalī*-s were composed by a host of other devotees.

Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa was fond of devotional songs. His dearest disciple, Vivekānanda was a master-singer of songs which caused a thrill in the minds of devoted persons.

The Bāüls of Bengal have earned distinction by composing and singing devotional songs.

Music, as a discipline, originated in very ancient times. The *Nāradīya Śikṣā*, dating back probably to the pre-Buddhistic age, according to some, is perhaps the earliest work to deal with the fundamentals of music.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata appears to be the earliest work to deal elaborately and systematically with music and dance. Its date is uncertain; it ranges between a period before Christ and about fourth century A. D. according to different scholars.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to a number of earlier authors thus indicating that Bharata was not the first author to deal with the subject. Sanskrit literature through ages reveals the influence of music on society. Thus, the epics contain innumerable references to music and dance. According to most modern scholars, the present *Rāmāyaṇa* dates back to the second or third century A. D. while the extant *Mahābhārata* came into being about the fourth century A. D. It is generally believed that the epics originated in ballads and were propagated by *Sūta*-s or bards living in royal courts and *Kuśīlava*-s or roving singers.

The Purāṇas not only refer to music and dance, but some of them deal with these arts as disciplines. Of such Purāṇas, the most noteworthy are the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Vāyu*, both of which probably came into being in the period between the third century A. D. and the fifth. The *Kālikā-purāṇa* also deserves mention in this connection. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* (part III) contains considerable information about dance and song.

Considerable information about music is contained in some works on Tantra, notably in the *Viṇātantra* included in the *Yāmla-tantra*.

In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (not earlier than 4th cent. B. C. and not later than 5th cent. A. D. music and dance are included among the sixtyfour arts.

Various prose, poetical and dramatic works and Classical Sanskrit reveal the profound influence of music and dance on the life of people. For example, the *Svapna-vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa refers to music. The *Abhijñāna-śākuntala* refers, in the prologue, to the audience spell-bound by melodious songs. In the *Meghadūta*[1] Kālidāsa poetically describes the connection between dance and instrumental music. He alone refers to the following instruments : *dundubhi*[2], *ghaṇṭā*[3], *mṛdaṅga*[4],

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1. *Śabdāyante madhuraṁ*...etc. *Meghadūta* I.60.
2. *Raghu*. X.76.
3. *Ibid*. VII.41.
4. *Ibid* XIII.40, XVI.14, 64, XIX.5; *Mālavikā* I pp. 19-23 NSP Ed., Bombay, 1950.

muraja[1], *paṭaha*[2], *puṣkara*[3], *vallaki*[4], *Veṇu*[5] and *Vīṇā*[6].

Certain Buddhist works contain information on the subject. The very names of some Jātakas indicate their authors' familiarity with music and dance; e.g. *Nṛtya-jātaka*, *Bherīvādaka-J.*, *Viṇāsthūṇa-J.* etc. The *Matsya-jātaka* and *Guptila-J.* contain comparatively detailed information on the subject. The Jātakas date back to C. third century A. D.

The *Lalita-vistara* (C. 2nd Cent. A. D.) refers to *gāthā*, *gāna*, dance and various musical intruments.

The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (C. 1st Cent. A. D.) refers to lute and such basic things of vocal music as heptatone, *grāma*, *mūrchanā* etc.

There are evidences of the use of music in Buddhist festivals.

A piece of Gāndhāra art of the second century A. D. and Ajantā paintings of the sixth century proved that Gautama regularly practised music. We are informed that, in an ancient seat of learning at Varanasi, at least 500 monks and other students used to learn music. In each of the Universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and Odandtapurī there was a separate department for teachig *Gāndharva-vidyā* or music.

In course of time, quite a number of works came to be written on music and dance. Of the extant works on music, the earliest is perhaps, the *Bṛahaddeśī*, attributed to Mataṅga who is believed to have flourished sometime between the fifth century and the seventh.

The *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva (13th. cent. A. D.) is, perhaps, the only work to deal exhaustively with the threefold *Saṅgīta*.

We propose, in this paper, to give an outline of the theory of music and dance as laid down in Sanskrit works, particularly the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*.

VOCAL MUSIC

Vocal music is called *gīta*. It consists of a group of *svara*-s causing delight. It is twofold according as it is *gāndharva* and *gāna*. *Gāndharva* is that whose tradition is eternal

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1. *Megha.* 58.66; *Ku.* VI.10; *Mālavikā.* I.22.
2. *Megha.* 36; *Raghu.* IX.71.
3. *Megha.* 72; *Raghu.* III.19, VI.9, 56, X.76; XVI.87; *Ku.* VII.10; *Vik.* (Velankar, 1961) IV.12.
4. *Raghu.* VIII.41.
5. *Ibid.* XIX.35.
6. *Ibid.* VIII.33; XIX.85; *Megha.* 91.

and is used by Gandharvas; it is conducive to welfare. *Gāna* is composed by human beings, possessed of various characteristics and is described in connection with *deśirāga* etc.; it is delightful to people.

Songs are again of two kinds, viz. *mārga* and *deśī*. The term *mārga* is derived from the root *mṛg* 'to search'. It is stated to have been sought by gods like Brahmā, used by Bharata and the like before Śiva, and is conducive to welfare. *Deśī* is that which caters to the taste of the people of particular regions.

Again, songs may be *nibaddha* or set in words and *anibaddha* or unset. A *nibaddha* song has three designations, viz. *prabandha*, *vastu* and *rūpaka*. A part of *prabandha* is called *dhātu*. It is fourfold, viz. *udgrāha*, *melāpaka*, *dhruva* and *ābhoga*. The first and the last do not exist in certain cases. Wind, bile, phlegm, supporting our body, are called *dhātu*. *Udgrāha* etc. support the body of a *prabandha*, and, as such, are called *dhātu*. *Dhruva* (fixed) is so called as it is constant in all *prabandha*-s. Between *dhruva* and *ābhoga* is another *dhātu* called *antara* or *antarā*.

The number of different kinds of *prabhanda*-s is large.

Śruti and *Svara* are vital elements of a song. The difference between the two lies in the fact that the former has no resonance whereas the latter has it. The number of *Śruti*-s is twenty-two. They give rise to seven *Svara*-s called *SA*, *RI*, *GA*, *MA*, *PA*, *DHA*, *NI* in order. These are abbreviations of the following words *Ṣaḍja*, *Ṛṣabha*, *Gāndhāra*, *Madhyama*, *Pañcama*, *Dhaivata* and *Niṣāda*. These seven *svara*-s have been taken from the cries of the following respectively: peacock, *Cātaka* bird, goat, *Krauñca* bird, cuckoo, frog and elephant.

Svara-s are twofold: *Śuddha* (pure) and *Vikṛta* (modified). The above seven are *Śuddha*. When a *svara* leaves its own place or the *śruti*-s specified for it, and assumes another place or contains other *śruti*-s, it becomes *vikṛta*. For example, when *Ṛṣabha* assumes the four *śruti*-s of *Ṣaḍja*, it is *vikṛta*.

From the point of view of their relation with a song, the *svara*-s are of four kinds, viz. *vādi*, *saṃvādi*, *vivādi* and *anuvādī*. *Vādi svara* is largely pronounced in the application of *jātirāga*-s etc. Two *svara*-s, with eight or twelve *śruti*-s intervening between them, are said to be *saṃvādī* of each other. *Ni* and *GA* are *vivādi* (discordant) to other *svara*-s. The *Svara*, following a *vādī svara*, is called *anuvādi*.

Svara-s are also divided as *Aṁśa*, *Graha* and *Nyāsa*. That, in which the full form of a *rāga* is divided, is called *aṁśa*. According to some, it is another name of the *Vādī Svara*. That which is at the beginning of a song, is called *graha*. That, in which a *rāga* terminates, is called *nyāsa*.

The act of singing is called *varṇa*. It is fourfold, viz. *Sthāyī* (constant), *ārohī* (ascending), *avarohī* (descending) and *sañcārī* (promiscuous). The intermittent singing of the same *svara* is called *sthāyī*.

A particular combination or mode of arrangement of letters of a song is called *alaṅkāra* or embellishment. It conveys knowledge about the precise nature and charm of *svara*-s, and also diversifies the *varṇa*-combinations. Some of the *alaṅkāra*-s are *prasannādi*, *prasannānta*, *prasannamadhya* etc.

The trembling of a *svara* is called *gamaka*, also called *vāga*.

According to the commentator, *Siṁhabhūpāla*, *ālāpa* or *ālapti* denotes a group of *svara*-s which clearly manifests a *rāga*; it spreads out a *rāga*. This is *rāgālapti*, and is used in *anubaddha* songs. The *rāga* of a *nibaddha* song is manifested in *rūpakālapti; rūpaka* is a variety of *nibaddha-gāna*.

The ascent and descent of the seven *svara*-s in order are called *mūrchanā*.

A group of letters, which is the resort of *mūrchanā* etc., is called *grāma*. *Grāma*-s are three, viz. *Ṣadja*, *Gāndhāra* and *Madhyama*; of these, the second is stated to be current in heaven only.

The term *tāna*, derived from the root *tan* (to spread out), spreads out a *rāga*. *Tāna*-s are twofold; viz. *Śuddha* and *Kūṭa*. The former takes place when the *svara*-s are sung in the regular order. Sung in an irregular order they give rise to the latter.

Jāti, according to Mataṅga, is the designation of *svara*-s manifested with *śruti*, *graha* and *svara* (*alaṅkāra*, *varṇa* etc.).

The term *rāga* is very old. The *Nāradīya Śikṣā* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* mention it, but do not explain it. Later writers define it as a *dhvani* (sound), possessed of particular *svara*-s and *varṇa*-s, which causes delight to the mind of the people.

Rāga-s are broadly divided into two classes; viz. *grāma-rāga* and *deśi-rāga*. *Grāma-rāga* is so called as it arises from *grāma* defined above. It may be called classical while the *deśi-rāga* may be characterised as regional.

The *Saṅgita-ratnākara* (*Rāgaviveka*, 16-18) mentions the following twenty *rāga*-s :

Śrī, *Naṭṭa*, *Vaṅgāla* (2), *Bhāṣā*, *Madhyamaṣāḍava*, *Raktahaṁsa*, *Kolhahāsa*, *Prasava*, *Bhairava*, *Dhvani*, *Megha*, *Soma*, *Kāmoda* (2), *Āmrapañcama*, *Kandarpa*, *Deśa*, *Kaiśikakakubha*, *Naṭṭanārāyaṇa*.

It mentions also the following *Uparāga*-s or sub-*rāga*-s arising from near *grāma-rāga*-s :

Śakatilaka, *Ṭakkasaindhava*, *Kokilapañcama*, *Revagupta*, *Pañcamṣāḍava*; *Bhāvanā-pañcama*, *Nāgagāndhāra*, *Nāgapañcama*.

Some of the well-known *deśi rāga*-s are *Mālavakaiśika*, *Ṭoḍi*, *Ṣāḍava* and Hindola.

Ancilliary or minor *rāga*-s are of the types known as *Upāṅga, Bhāṣāṅga* and *Rāgāṅga.* According to the *Saṅgita-ratnākara*[1], the total number of *rāga*-s is 264.

Rāga-s are divided into three classes in accordance with the number of *svara*-s contained in them. A *rāga* is *sampūrṇa* when it contains all the seven *svara*-s, *Ṣāḍava* containing six of them and *Auḍava* or *Auduva* consisting of five *svara*-s. The term *auḍava* is derived from *uḍu* denoting star. Stars reside in the sky which is the fifth of the five gross elements (*pañcabhūta*). Hence *auḍava rāga* is so called.

Again, *rāga*-s may be *śuddha* (pure or unmixed) and *chāyālaga* or *sālaga* (mixed). The latter is so called as it has the shadow or likeness of another *rāga*.

It is curious that, at least upto the time of Śārṅgadeva, the term *rāgiṇī* did not come into vogue. The conception of six *rāga*-s, with thirty six *rāgiṇī*-s as their consorts, was a later development.

Rāga-s and *rāgiṇī*-s have been fancied in later treatises, as having anthropomorphic features and traits of character. The imaginary figures of certain *rāga*-s and *rāgiṇī*-s are reproduced below :

Śrīrāga

aṣṭādaśābdaḥ smaracāru-mūrtiḥ
dhīro lasat-pallava-karṇapūraḥ |
ṣaḍjādi-sevyoruṇa-vastradhārī
śrīrāga eṣa kṣitipālamūrtiḥ ||

(This *Śrīrāga*, aged eighteen years, is handsome like Cupid, steady, shining with ear-ornaments of leaves; he is served by *Ṣaḍja* etc., wears a scarlet cloth and looks like a king).

Vasantī-rāgiṇī

(pertaining to *Śrīrāga*)

Śikhaṇḍivarhoccaya-baddha-cūḍā
Karṇāvataṁsa-kṛtaśobhanāmrā |
indīvara-śyāmatanuḥ sucitrā
vasantikā syādali-mañjulaśrīḥ ||

(*Vasantikā*, adorned by bees, exquisitely beautiful, having her body like the lotus, is wearing a crown of peacock's plumes, and decked with ear-ornaments of mango-blossoms).

Śabda or voice is the basis of songs. It is divided in the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (*Prakīrṇaka* 39-67) into four main kinds; (i) *Khāhula*, arising from phlegm, (ii) *Nārāṭa*, arising from bile, (iii) *Bombaka*. arising from wind and (iv) *Miśraka*, arising from the admixture of the above three.

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1. *Rāgaviveka* ii. 19.

In accordance with qualities, *Śabda* is divided into fifteen kinds; e.g, *Komala* (soft), *Karuṇa* (evoking pity), *Snigdha* (devoid of roughness) etc.

The capacity of sound or voice for manifesting *rāga*-s, without practice, is called *Śārīra* (born with the body, congenital).

One, who is conversant with both *mārga* and *deśī*, is called *Gāndharva*. One knowing *mārga* only is called *Svarādi.*

Vocalists are of five kinds, viz. *śikṣākāra* (learner), *anukāra* (imitator), *rasika* (appreciator), *rañjaka* (delighter) and *bhāvaka*. The last one can turn an insipid song into one of relish, render a song, devoid of emotion, into one full of emotion and can sing after realising the intention of listeners.

Śārṅgadeva lists twenty-five defects of singers. Some of these are as follows :

Bhīta —terrified.
Kākī —having a voice raucous like that of a crow.
Nimīlaka —singing with closed eyes.
Sānunāsika—singing with a nasal voice.
Vitāla —departing from the proper *tāla*.
Tumbakī —One whose throat swells like a pumpkin-gourd while singing.
Prasārī —One who sings after stretching the body.

Ten merits of songs are mentioned. These are *Vyakta* (clear), *Pūrṇa* (possessed of full *gamaka*), *Prasanna* (clearly and easily intelligible), *Sukumāra* (containing *svara*-s arising from the throat), *Alaṅkṛta* (embellished), *Sama* (of even *varṇa*-s, *laya* etc.), *Surakta* (having harmony of sounds produced by the flute and the throat), *Ślakṣṇa* (of equal smoothness), *Vikṛṣṭa* (having loud pronunciation), *Madhura* (possessed of graceful and charming sound).

The following are the ten defects of songs: *Lokaduṣṭa* (condemned by people), *Śāstraduṣṭa* (blamed by treatises on music), *Śrutivirodhī* (opposed to *Śruti*), *Kālavirodhī* (sung at improper time), *Punarukta* (repeated), *Kalākhya* (inartistic), *Gatakrama* (devoid of order), *Apārthaka* (devoid of same), *Grāmya* (vulgar) and *Sandigdha* (doubtful).

A group of singers and instrumentalists is called *vṛnda*, constituted by singers and instrumentalists whose number is larger than usual, is called *Kolāhala* (confused noise).

Following the principal singer, absence of dissimilarity to chorus songs, conformity with *tāla* and *laya*, mutual rectification of defects, capacity for pervasion in the three *sthāna*-s (*mandra*, *madhya*, *tāra*), similarity of voice—these are the merits of a *vṛnda*.

A particular kind of *Vṛnda* is called *kutapa*. It is threefold according as it relates to *tata*[1] instruments, *avanaddha* instruments and drama.

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1. See under instrumental music.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Musical instruments are of four classes, viz. *Tata, Suşira, Avanaddha* and *Ghana*. *Tata* is made of strings, and includes various kinds of lutes. (*Viṇā*) is twofold, viz. *śrutiviṇā* and *svaraviṇā*; the former produces *śruti* and the latter *svara*. The latter also, according to Śārṅgadeva, can produce *śruti*-s. In the *Saṅgita-ratnākara* (*svaragatādhyāya* 11-22) *Vīṇā*-s are again divided into *dhruva* (fixed) and *cala* (adjustable). In the latter, the strings have to be adjusted or shifted. Each of them has twenty-two strings.

The *Svaraviṇā* may be of ten varieties, e.g. *ekatantri, ālāpini* etc.

Suşira is that which has holes and is played with wind. It includes a number of instruments like *vaṁśa* (flute), *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) etc.

Avanaddha or percussion instrument is covered with leather, and has to be struck. It includes all kinds of drums, tabours etc. Of the instruments of the class at least twenty-three are known; e.g. *paṭaha, mardala, dundubhi, bheri* etc.

Ghana is the name of metallic instruments like bells (*ghaṇṭā*), *karatāla* etc.

Vādya (instrumental music) is divided into four classes, viz. *śuṣka* (not accompanying song or dance), also called *goṣṭhī, gītānuga* (accompanying song), *nṛttānuga* (accompanying both song and dance).

The merits of *vādya* are as follows : *rakta* (pleasant), *Virakta-vibhinna* (distinct ?), *madhura* (sweet), *sama* (even), *śuddha* (unmixed), *kala* (delicate), *ghana* (possessed of substance), *sphuṭaprahāra* (with manifest sound), *Śubhara* (possessed of beautiful *rāga*) and *vighuṣṭa* (deep).

The merits of instrumentalists in general are to be versed in the mode of striking with the hand and in the use of the bow of the lute, experienced in *tāla, laya* etc., skilled in hiding the defects of songs, instrumental music and dance.

The merits of a flutist are practice in the movement of fingers, knowledge of *rāga*-s and capacity for producing *rāga*-s.

An expert flutist can produce various *svara*-s in a single hole.

Among the defects of a flutist are shaking of the head, stopping at intervals, sound harsh like that of a crow, distortion of *svara*-s due to cough in the mouth.

The blowing of a flute may be fivefold :

Kampita (shaking the flute attached to lips),

Valita (caused by the movement of fingers),

Mukta (holes free from all fingers),

Ardhamukta (holes are half free),

Nipiḍita (holes fully covered with fingers and the flute is filled with wind).

The merits of playing a *mardala* are clear notes, capacity for pleasing others, keeping the limbs as usual, skill in the movement of hands, concentration, tirelessness, knowledge of *tāla*, *laya* etc.

The merits of a player of the *Viṇā* are—expert knowledge of *śruti, svara, rāga* etc., graceful body, steadiness of seat, self-restraint, fearlessness, concentration etc.

Śārṅgadeva lays down elaborate rules about the construction of musical instruments of different types.

Pāṭa is the name given to *Vādyākṣara* i.e. letter-like sound produced by an instrument. The *pāṭa*-s, arising from different positions of the hand, rather the palm, and the strokes made by it, are called *hastapāṭa*-s. Eighty-eight *hastapāṭa*-s are mentioned by Śārṅgadeva.

The shaking of the neck, elbow, thumb, wrist and the left foot is called *sañca*. By *sañca* of the thumb and the wrist the player of a *paṭaha* becomes best. By shaking the shoulders and the elbow one becomes inferior. One becomes *madhyama* (a player of the middling quality) by shaking the wrist and the elbow. The worst player shakes his left foot.

In connection with music, a few more technical terms should be explained. These are necessary in dance too.

The word '*tāla*' is derived from root *tal* which conveys the sense of *pratiṣṭhā* (foundation, basis). Śārṅgadeva holds that it is so called as music and dance are based on it. *Tāla* is defined as the time measured with the help of the measures of a vowel, called *laghu* (short), *guru* (long) and *pluta* (prolated).

Tāla is mainly two-fold—*mārga* (classical) and *deśī* (regional). The difference between the two appears to lie mainly in the fact that while the former is appreciated by experts or connoisseurs, the latter appeals to the common folk.

Tāla-s are again divided as *caturasra* and *tryasra* known respectively as *cañcatpuṭa* and *cācapuṭa*. *Ṣaṭpitāputraka* is a variety of *tryasra*.

The pause, intervening between *tāla*-s or strokes, is called *laya*. It is three-fold, viz. *druta* (swift), *madhya* (medium) and *vilambita* (delayed).

The mode of application of *laya* is called *yati*. It is three-fold—*sama*, *srotogata* and *gopuccha*. The first occurs when there is uniformity of *laya* in the beginning, middle and end. *Srotagata* arises when *vilambita*, *madhya* and *druta* *laya*-s are used respectively in the beginning, middle and end. *Gopuccha* resorts to *druta*, *madhya* and *vilambita* *laya*-s,

DANCE

It appears that dance originated in connection with drama. Śārṅgadeva holds that *nartana* (dance) is three-fold, viz. *Nāṭya* (drama), *Nṛtta* (dance), *Nṛtya* (gesticulation, tableau)[1].

Nṛtta or dance proper is broadly divided into two classes—*Tāṇḍava* (violent) and *Lāsya* (graceful, tender). It is again of three kinds, viz. *Viṣama* (walking over ropes etc.), *Vikaṭa* (performed with grotesque look, dress and movement of limbs), *Laghu* (performed with minor *Karaṇa*-s, which will be defined later on).

Different parts of the body are used in dance. These are divided into *aṅga* (head, hand etc.), *pratyaṅga* (neck, arms etc.), *Upāṅga* (eyes, brows, heels, ankles etc.).

Karaṇa or *Nṛttakaraṇa* is a graceful action of hand, foot etc. together, which is in consonance with the *Rasa* concerned. *Karaṇa*-s may be innumerable. Śārṅgadeva mentions 108 as the common and important one. Some of them are in vogue everywhere, while others prevail in particular regions. Among the latter are the various *utplutikaraṇa*-s or *Karaṇa*-s with jumps. *Samanakha* is a kind of *Karaṇa*. In it the body is in the natural position, the feet touch each other with the toes placed on the same level on the ground. The hands are in the *latā* pose.

The word *Cāri*, derived from root *car* (to move) denotes the aggregate or various graceful movements of the feet, shanks, thighs and hips performed simultaneously.

Cāri-s may be *mārga* (classical or standard) and *deśi* (regional). The latter is divided into two classes, viz. *Bhaumī* (terresterial) and *Ākāśiki* (aerial). A kind of *Bhaumī cāri* is *Samapāda*. In it one has to stand with the feet close together, the toe-nails on a level. A kind of *Ākāśiki cāri* is *alāta*. In it one foot is stretched backward with its sole facing the other thigh. Then its heel is brought down to the ground on its side.

The term *sthāna* denotes a particular position of the motionless body. Besides standard *sthāna*-s there are *deśī* or regional *sthāna*-s too. There are six *sthāna*-s for men and seven for women. A *sthāna* for men is *Āliḍha*. In it the left thigh is motionless in the air and slightly bent. The right foot is stretched forward to a distance of five spans. Both feet are oblique. A *sthāna* for women is *gatāgata*. In it the female dancer, about to move forward hesitates with one foot raised.

The term *aṅgahāra* means the movement of *aṅga*-s (limbs) in a particular manner. Some explain it as a movement pertaining to Hara (i.e. Śiva) and demonstrated by limbs (*aṅga*). According to Śārṅgadeva the graceful movement of the limbs to proper places,

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1. *Nartanādhyāya*. 3.

composed of groups of *mātṛkā*-s (i.e. combinations of two *karaṇa*-s) is called *aṅgahāra*. The number of *aṅgahāra*-s is infinite. Śārṅgadeva mentions thirty-two as important among them.

Particular movements of the feet, hands, waist and neck are called *recaka*. The continuous movement of the foot in between the heel and the tip of the toe and then onwards, involving bending and stretching, is the *recaka* of the foot. A swift circular movement of the hands inward and outward alternately is the *recaka* of the hands. Turning round the waist in all directions along with the vertical rotation of the toe slightly spread out, is the *recaka* of the waist. Shaking and moving the neck around is the *recaka* of the neck.

Vartanā means a particular movement of the arms. By resorting to various movements of arms, separately and collectively, and adopting the tempos *druta* etc. innumerable *vartanā*-s can be produced. Śārṅgadeva does not enumerate *vartanā*-s of which twenty-four varieties are described by Kallīnātha following Kohala.

When employed with *recaka*-s, without loss of grace, these movements of arms, full of skilful modes, are called *cālaka*-s. Kallīnātha, following Kohala, describes fifty *cālaka*-s.

The movement of the body in dance for simulated protection against weapons and for the simulated discharge of weapons is called *nyāya*. The *nyāya*-s are to be employed with *cāri*-s in discharging weapons.

Maṇḍala is the name given to a particular combination of *cāri*-s. *Maṇḍala*-s are twofold, *bhauma* (terresterial) and *ākāśīka* (aerial). Each class comprises ten *maṇḍala*-s. These are employed in discharging weapons.

Rekhā is the name given to a particular position of the body, attractive to the mind and the eyes. In it, there is a harmonious combination of the various poses of the major limbs, e.g. head, eyes and hands.

Generally women are regarded as fit for various movements in dance. They are of three types, i.e. *Mugdhā*(shy), *Madhyā* (normal), *Pragalbhā* (bold, confident).

Gauṇḍatī is the designation of a kind of female dancer. In it the dancer dances with gentle movements of the limbs. She herelf sings and plays on the *Trivalī* instrument. Some reject this instrument as the carrying of it on the shoulder is not decent for a girl. Her dress should be like that in vogue in the region called Karṇāṭaka. A kind of dancer is called *Peranin*. He will be as follows: body smeared with white powder such as ash, head shaved with a tuft of hair left, wearing a number of shining anklet-bells tied to shanks, good voice, expert in the arts of timing and tempo, attracting the mind of the audience.

Śārṅgadeva deals elaborately with the poses of the single hand and combined hands. A few such poses are defined below.

Patākā (single hand—In it the thumb is bent, touches the root of the forefinger; the palm and fingers are outstretched and the fingers are pressed against one another.

Kapota (combined hands)—In it the two hands are joined at their bases, tips and sides.

INDIAN AND WESTERN MUSIC

The fundamental difference between the two is as follows. Indian music rests on melody while Western music is based on harmony. In an Indian song, the successive concordant notes produce a particular *rāga.* The harmony of the west depends on the concord of different notes related to one another. Indian melody has a uniform unchanged mood. Time and tune make a homogeneous unit. The balance is effected by time-variations and grace. In the west, mood is used to articulate the balance of the whole piece. In India, the prominent notes and the mutual relation of the individual notes are fixed by long tradition. In the west, the principal notes are made by the transitory impulse of the harmony; what matters is a group of notes and not the individual ones.

In India *gamaka*-s are deliberate and are considered to add to the grace of songs. In the west, these are accidental embellishments.

In Indian songs, conformity with classical standards is all-important; in it accuracy and skill are treated as more important than quality of the tone. The tune, melody and rhythm are all with which it is concerned. In western music, the quality of the voice and charm are important factors. The developed *tāla* system of India has no parallel in western music.

Indian music develops a single emotion, while western music frequently changes moods.

Rabīndranātha brings out the distinction between the two systems thus: our music draws the listener far away beyond the limits of everyday human joys and sorrows, and takes us to that lonely region of renunciation which lies at the root of the universe, while European music leads us to a variegated dance through the endless rise and fall of human grief and joy.

MUSICOLOGY AND TANTRA

A deep study of Indian musicology reveals the influence of Tantra. In certain works on music, we find the mention of *nāḍi*-s (artery, vein), *cakra*-s (circle) etc. within the body in connection with the production of *nāda*, *śruti*, *svara* etc. It may be noted that in

Tantra, which regards the body as a microcosm, the body is supposed to contain three main *nāḍi*-s, viz. *Iḍā, piṅgalā, suṣumnā*, and six *cakra*-s.

The use of *mudrā*-s or positions of hands etc. in connection with *Saṅgīta*, particularly dance, appears to betray Tantric influence. It may be added that *mudrā* is regarded as a means of Tāntric *Sādhanā*.

Śiva and Śakti are the two fundamental principles in Tantra. In musical lore, too, there is a tradition that *Rāga*-s and *Rāgiṇi*-s, which form the basis of vocal music, emanated respectively from Śiva and Śakti. According to one tradition, of the six *rāga*-s, one each comes out of the five mouths of Śiva, and the remaining one out of the mouth of Pārvatī.

NON-ARYAN INFLUENCE

That Indian culture was composite is borne out by musicology too. A close study reveals the non-Aryan elememts in Indian music. Invasions by Śakas, Hūṇas, Parthians, Muslims etc. resulted in the free mixing of Indians with foreigners. In the wake of Alexander's invasion (C. 326 B. C.) there was brisk cultural exchange between Greece and India. Besides military and political invasions, there were brisk commercial contacts between India on the one hand and various Asian and European countries on the other.

The names of certain *rāga*-s and *rāgiṇi*-s indicate their origin among the non-Aryan tribes living in different regions of India. *Śaka, Pulindi, Ābhiri, Śaberikā, Bhairava* appear to have been derived respectively from Śakas, Pulindas, Ābhīras, Śabaras and Bhairavas. *Mālava, Āndhri,* Gurjari probably point to the tribes knwon as *Mālavas, Andhakas* and *Gurjaras.*

The name *Velāvali* is probably derived from *vela-ūlli*, a Dravidian word. *Kamboji* may hint at Cambodia. *Turuṣka-toḍi, Turuṣka gauḍa* indicate the mixture of Turkish elements. The name *Boṭṭa* is regarded by some to have been derived from Bhoṭṭa or Bhoṭa which refers to Tibet. *Bhammāṇa* is taken by some to be of Armenian orgin. *Ṭakka-rāga* is supposed by some to be a contribution of the non-Aryan Ṭakka race.

Some of the authors of Sanskrit works on music were aware of foreign elements in *rāga*-s. For instance, in the *Bṛhaddeśi*, Mataṅga says—*saṃkīrṇā ca matā nityaṃ jñeyā vaideśa-sambhavā*—it is mixed and originated in a foreign land.

INFLUENCE OF INDIAN MUSIC ABROAD

We have seen that there was brisk commercial contact between India and foreign countries. There were foreign incursions into India. Buddhism was propagated in far-off lands.

In the realm of music there are some points of similarity between the Indian system and that prevailing in other countries. In some cases, this might be accidental or parallel development. But, in others, the influence of India seems to be a fact.

In 581 A.D., at the invitation of the then Chinese Emperor, many Indian musicians went to China. Sujīva, an expert Vīṇā-player, adorned the royal court of China in the period between 560 and 578 A.D. He used to train the music-lovers of China in the modes of Indian *rāga-s*. It appears that the Chinese used to cultivate Indian music down to the 9th. and 10th. centuries. Ancient Chinese manuscripts testify to their familiarity with the seven *svara*-s, *grāma*-s, *mūrchanā*-s etc. of the Indian system. According to some, the musical notes of China have been modelled on those of India. At least three Chinese notes correspond to the three *svara*-s called *Ṣaḍja*, *Rṣabha* and ***Pañcama***.

According to an ancient Japanese tradition, two chief types of music, called ***Bodhisattva*** and *Bairo*, were imported from China to Japan by an Indian Brahmin, named Bodhi. *Bodhisattva* is an Indian name. *Bairo* seems to have been derived from the Indian *rāga*, *Bhairava*, which is still called *Bhairo* in Hindī.

Of the Far Eastern countries, Java, Bali, Sumatra and Cambodia actively cultivated Indian Music.

Some songs of Tibet, particularly those of the devotional character, appear to have elements in imitation of Indian Sāman songs.

According to some, musical instruments like the harp, which resemble the Indian *Viṇā*, were borrowed from India by such ancient lands as Greece, Egypt, Alexandria etc.

There are noteworthy parallelisms between the Indian and Greek systems of music. For example, the two earliest scales of Greece, called Mixolydic and Doric, resemble early Indian scales. Pythagoras' scheme of cycle of the fifth and cycle of the fourth in musical system corresponding to the *Saḍja-pañcama* and *Saḍja-madhyama-bhāva*-s of the ***Nāṭyaśāstra***. It may be mentioned that some ancient Greek writers claim that the greater part of their music was borrowed from Asia. Among others, Strabo holds this view. Aristotle's description of a lyre reminds one of the Indian *ekatantrī viṇā*. Curt Sachs holds that the South Indian drum, ***tambattam***, was known in Babylonia in the name of ***timbutu***. According to him, the South Indian *Kinnarī* was King David's *Kinnor*.

The Arabian writer, Jahiz, tells us that Indian music was popular in the Abbasid court. The Arabic *magam iqa* appears to be Persian rendering of the Indian melodic rhythmic system. Yehudi Menuhin is sure that some elements of Indian music became the mainstay of Arabic music.

A NOTE ON HOLINESS ALLOWED TO WOMEN : PATIVRATĀ AND SATĪ

Mrs. F. Mallison

Whether brahmin, kṣatriya or vaiśya, a woman—according to the rules of the *dharmaśāstra* as illustrated in the *purāṇa*-s–does not occupy a higher rank than a *śūdra*[1]. It follows that she cannot be taught the sacred texts nor receive the *saṃskāra* of initiation (*upanayana*)[2]. The marriage ceremony solemnized early constitutes her initiation into religious life[3] conferred on her by her husband who thus becomes her *guru*. Yet, if a woman belongs to one of the three castes whose social and religious life is governed by the *dharmaśāstra,* she is supposed to model herself on a corpus of rules of conduct leading her towards moral perfection and the highest degree of holiness possible for a woman. But however perfectly observed, they are not supposed to lead her towards the attainment of *mokṣa*, the delivery of the soul from further transmigration, they just provide her with a chance to be reborn as a man and thus to work for her final liberation.[4]

How then can a woman attain to holiness ? Through the observation of the unique and exclusive 'vow' (*pātivrata*) tying her to her husband in perfect fidelity and making her a *pativratā* whose total *patisevā* has all the characteristics of the service a devotee offers to his god. The husband, only *guru* possible for his wife, is her only god[5]. If a

1. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Part I, p. 594 and note 1392.
2. *Manu*, IX.18 : 'There is no religious rite which women should perform with the help of the sacred texts . '.
3. If a girl dies unmarried, it happens that, before her funeral, a sort of wedding is performed, as in the case of a boy who, having not yet undergone the rite of initiation at the moment of his death, is hastily initiated before proceeding to the funeral ceremony.
4. Certain texts as the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (VI.2), allow the possibility to obtain *mokṣa* for *śūdra* and women, but this only during the *Kali-yuga*.
5. *Manu*, V.154 : 'Though without good conduct, seeking pleasure (with other women) or void of good qualities, a husband should always be worshipped as god by a faithful wife'. This saying

religious rite observed by her incurs the disapproval of her husband, she violates her *dharma* : thus, even the frequent fasts for the prosperity of her husband may not be undertaken unless he does not dislike them[1]. If in spite of her permanent care, devotion, and abnegation, mishap occurs to her husband, if her god on earth dies before her, the *pativratā* still can add to the perfection of her vow through immolating herself on the pyre at the side of her husband. There is no doubt that a woman achieving such mastery over her life, through her voluntary sacrifice, attains to holiness and is recognized by the people around her as a divine being. But this extreme sacrifice was never instituted by law, even if sometimes encouraged by customs or suggested by a family group. It remained an individual choice, and the term *satī* applied as well to the perfect *pativratā* whose husband is alive[2].

The concept of *satī* implies a specific form of holiness for women. There is no lack of examples in the epics and *purāṇa* illustrating how the powers of the perfect *pativratā* may surpass human measure. Thus in the *Mahābhārata*[3], a *pativratā* may withstand the anger of a brahmin saint who was first hospitably received but later neglected when the husband had returned. The *satī* knows she is beyond the power of the ascetic's curse, she knows through her own divinatory powers that a crane who, unluckily, had interfered with the holy man's devotions, had been reduced to nothingness by him, she knows that, thanks to her perfectly observed vow, she surpasses the powers yielded through the brahmin's austerities, and she tells him so. Śāṇḍili's story as told in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*[4] is even more remarkable. Śāṇḍilī, faithful wife of a brahmin suffering from leprosy, leads him herself in the evening to a prostitute for whom he has taken a liking. On the way, Kauśika, whom his wife carries on her shoulders, collides with sage Māṇḍavya who retaliates promising death at sunrise. But the *pativratā* successfully prevents the sun from rising, thus endangering the whole world. The helpless gods call in for help Anasūyā, the wife of sage Atri, another *pativratā*. Her merits prevail on Śāṇḍilī to let the sun rise and recall to life her husband in the shape of a vigorous young

was often repeated in Sanskrit and in vernacular literatures (for instance : *Padma-purāṇa*, VI 234. 1-4, or *Rāmacaritamānasa*, III.5. v. 4).

1. *Manu*, V.155 : 'No sacrifice, no vow, no fast may be performed by women separately (from their husband ; if she listens to her husband, then a woman will be exalted in heaven'.
2. *Satī* meaning 'a woman who has committed self-immolation by the side of her dead husband' is rendered in English through the word 'suttee'. But the meaning of *satī* 'a holy woman' is not restricted to the meaning of its English form 'suttee'.
3. III.197. Quoted after the critical edition of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune 1933-1966.
4. XVI.14-90. The story is also told in the *Padma-purāṇa*, V, 48.

man. Similar powers, the result of their vow strictly observed, enable Sāvitrī to revive her husband Satyavān and to triumph over Yama[1], who admits his fears of the *sati*[2] enable Sītā to prevent Rāvaṇa from coming near her[3], enable Draupadī to triumph over the Pāṇḍava[4], Damayantī to recognize Nala among the gods who had taken his shape[5], enable Sukanyā to recognize her husband among the Aśvin in a similar situation[6].

Attending strictly to their vow of fidelity, the *pativratā*-s concentrate cosmic powers on themselves which confer strength and irreversibility to their words—words of truth, *satya*, par excellence[7]. But if such are also the very powers resulting from the austerities (*tapas*) of male ascetics (*saṃnyāsin*), their means of achieving them are different. The road to the *summum bonum* for a *dvija* man is a matter almost exclusively of chastity (*brahmacarya*) and of renouncing the world. Final liberation (*mokṣa*) results from the abandon of all secular life, whether shared or unshared before. *Mokṣa* results from a perfection which implies renouncing moral duty (*dharma*) towards family life, procreation to continue the lineage and to accomplish funeral rites. Thus holiness as allowed to men seems in many respects to conflict with the strict observation of the *dharma*[8]. A sincere ascetic cannot but refuse to extend the duration of a world he knows to be false, unreal, the mirage of *māyā*. Thus, even if sages Jaratkaru[9] and Ruci[10] yielding to the strong claim of their ancestors finally marry in order to beget a son, Asita Devala[11] adheres to the ideal

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1. *Mbh.* III.281.
2. *VarāhaP.* CCVIII-CCIX.
3. Queen Mandodarī warns her husband Rāvaṇa: 'The tears of a caste wife never touch the soil in vain...' (*Rāmāyaṇa,* VI.111—Veṅkaṭeśvar Press, Bombay, 114, v. 67).
4. Dhṛtarāṣṭra forsees the loss of his sons because they have ill-treated the faithful Draupadī (*Mbh,* I.1. 106).
5. *Mbh.* III.54.
6. *Ibid.* III.123.
7. The *satī,* through the strict observation of their *dharma,* is able to perform an 'act of truth' (*satya-kriyā*); cf. Norman Brown, The metaphysics of the true act (*Satyakriyā*), in *Mélanges Renou* (Paris, 1968), p. 171-177. For instance, people say that, according to legend, Rāṇakadevī, the faithful wife of Rā' Kheṅgārā of Saurāṣṭra, caused Mount Girnar to shake and river Bhogavo to dry when '*satya*' was on her as she heard of the death of her husband and decided to burn hereself.
8. Cf. Louis Dumont, Le renoncement dans les religions de l'Inde, paragraphe 2 : L'option du salut : le Renoncant, in Appendice B of *Homo hierarchicus* (reprinted from *Archives de Sociologie des Religions,* n. 7, 1959), Paris, 1966, p. 333-341.
9. *Mbh.* I.13.
10. *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa,* 95-98.
11. *Mbh.* IX.49.

of strict *ahiṃsā* and refuses to differ his renouncement of the world, exactly as did Śuka[1] Men, therefore, may realize liberation (*mokṣa*) from the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*) which obliges all beings to pay with more or less suffering for the heritage of anterior lives, provided they renounce their social duty as taught by the laws contained in the *dharmaśāstra*. For women, however, if there is the possibility of *mokṣa* and it admittedly exists for the great epic and purānic women saints, it results from an extreme fidelity to the *dharma* in this world, and not from a transposition of the social duties through renouncing the world[2].

What, then, may one conclude from the opposition between the roads leading to holiness, different for men and women ? Hazra[3] saw in the salvation proposed to women within the limits of their worldly *dharma* an instrument to prevent them from yielding to the temptation of conversion to Jainism or Buddhism, doctrines which admit the road of renouncement for women, forbidden to them in Brahmanism. May be, and more fundamentally, is it a matter of balancing the construction of the *dharma* unsettled by the admission of *mokṣa* among the three other ends for which one strives, *dharma-artha-kāma*, by means of giving to women, half of humanity, the responsibility of the total realisation of the *dharma*[4].

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1. *Mhbh.* XII.309-320.
2. Muktānanda (1757-1829), a Gujarātī author belonging to the Svāmīnārāyaṇī sect, discussed the problem in a poem, *Satī-Gītā* (1823) written for the spiritual edification of the women of his religious group. His conclusion is that the perfect *pativratā*-s attain *mokṣa* and reach the *satyaloka* after death (*Satī-Gītā, kaḍavuṃ* 26, *ed.* Śrī Harijīvanadāsa Śāstrī, *Muktānanda-kāvyam*, (Bhuj, 1955), p. 249.
3. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1975, p. 231.
4. In this case, the women's responsibility in the *dharma* would be even more important. Anyway, the numerous compilations of late *purāṇa*, reprinted in the pious booklets spread over the holy cities and pilgrimage centres continue to offer the same ideal of life to women: total surrender to the service of their husband (see, for instance, the '*Strī dharma praśnottarī*', published by the Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, 56 pages, reprinted since 192) and attaining 5,60,000 copies in 1967, for twelve paise each). What is called the 'Sītā-Sāvitrī-ideal' is often illustrated in these booklets through a vernacular version of the conversation between Anasūyā and Sītā in the Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Sītā-Anasūyā-saṃvāda*) II.118. Sītā, Sāvitrī, Damayantī, the heroines of the epics whose stories tell of their ardent conjugal love, not faultless maybe, but wholly given to selfless surrender, still remain the actual models for the Hindu woman. Cf. Ch. Vaudeville, Evolution of Love Symbolism in Bhāgavatism; in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 82 (1962), p, 33,

THE MAHĀBODHI-JĀTAKA IN BHARHUT

Dieter Schlingloff

Ten years ago, R. C. Agrawala published a number of architectural pieces from the railing of the Bharhut *stūpa* discovered at village Bhatanwara and displayed in the National Museum at New Delhi[1]. Some of these new Bharhut reliefs are representing *Jātaka*-scenes, one of which (fig. 1) is described by Agrawala as follows : "Here we notice a royal person seated on a high throne and surrounded by his courtiers. One of them escorts a cringing monkey having a prominent tail but a turbaned human head. It appears that the sculptor here has depicted the *Mahākapi Jātaka* story in a slightly different manner; the monkey's face is completely human here ; whereas in the other medallion from Bharhut itself, he is shown as the real monkey chief. Besides this, the jumping and crossing of the river, as narrated in the *Mahākapi Jātaka*, is conspicuous by its absence in this Bhatanwara medallion where the human-headed monkey (Bodhisattva) has grown too weak to stand and that is why he is being offered a helping hand by the royal attendant from behind. It may represent a simplified version of the *Mahākapi Jātaka*, emphasizing the concluding portion of the story, i. e. the monkey chief being escorted to the ruler to disclose his identity after he had shown unusual courage for the safety of his fellow monkeys."[2]

Two shortcomings of this interpretation are indicated by the author himself. The jumping and crossing of the river in order to save the monkeys is the main event of the story, and hence in all representations of this *Jātaka* the pendent bridge created by the body of the Great Monkey forms the prominent scene.[3] Moreover, there is no represen-

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1. R. C. Agrawala, *Unpublished Bharhut Reliefs in the National Museum,* New Delhi, Lalit Kala 14, 1969, p. 53-55.
2. P. 53f.
3. Bharhut : A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut,* London 1879, pl. 33.4; etc. Sāñcī : J. Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi,* Vol. II, Pl.LXIV; etc. Ajanta : G. Yazdani, *Ajanta,*

tation in Buddhist art, in which an animal—Budhisattva—is shown with human face. There

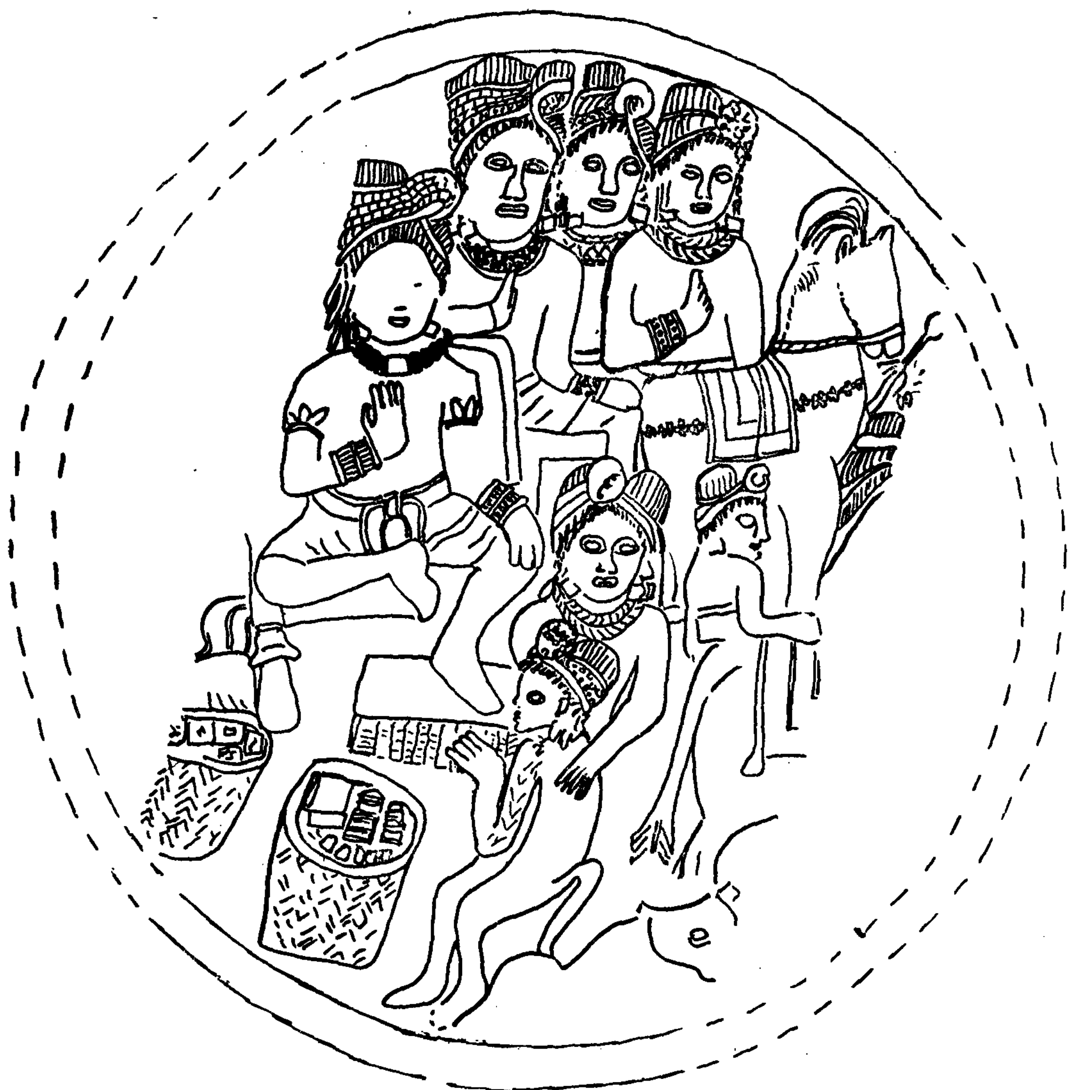


Fig. 1

Part IV, Pl.XIb, XII.c-e, XIII. Qyzil : A. v. Le Coq and E. Waldschmidt, *Die buddhistische*

is, however, another objection which proves the impossibility of Agrawala's interpretation: The right part of the medallion presents a second scene, clearly separated from the left one by the turning of the figures to the right. Though partly destroyed, three figures may be discerned clearly : a horse, an elephant and, at the bottom, a dog.

This dog, together with the monkey-skinned man in the left scene, clearly indicates, that the medallion represents the *Mahābodhi-Jataka.*[1] In the *Gāthā*-s of this *Jātaka*[2] a certain king asks an ascetic, why he has taken his utensils in order to leave him. The ascetic, namely the Bodhisattva Mahābodhi, replies, that he has dwelt for twelve years together with the king in harmony, but that now the king's dog has barked at him, thus indicating that the king was no longer in favour with him.[3]

Juts this scene is represented in another Bharhut relief,[4] identified 68 years ago by E. Hultzsch[5] (fig. 2). The ascetic Mahābodhi on the right side, in accordance with the *Jātaka*-verse[6] equipped with umbrella, sandals, robe, staff and bowl, is talking with the king and his wife on the left. The dog is standing at the feet of the king, barking at the ascetic. Of course the barking of the dog did not motivate the ascetic to leave the king at first in this moment, but before he took the equipments for his journey. Hence our relief is another example of the 'completive'[7] method of representation, in which the main actor, here the ascetic Mahābodhi, is confronted with two different events of a story in the same picture.[8]

The *Jātaka,* however, did not end with this event. The king entreated the ascetic to stay or at the least to come back later on.[9] The ascetic agreed and indeed he returned

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Spätantike in Mittelasien VI, Berlin 1928, .p. 12. Barabudur: T. van Erp and N. J. Krom, Beschrijving van Barabudur I, 's-Gravenhage 1920, Taf. IBa 99-102.

1. *Jātaka* Nr. 528, ed. Fausboll, Vol. V, p. 227-46; transl. Francis, p. 116-26.
2. Of course only the *Gāthā*-s of the *Jātaka* represent the old stock of the stories which can be compared with the Bharhut reliefs, while the *Jātaka* prose forms a later addition by a commentator, who, in several cases, does not even understand the true sense of the old *Gāthā*-s.
3. P. 232, *Gathā* 1-3.
4. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pl. 27.14; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris—New York 1929, pl. 29.4; A. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, pl. 41, 137.
5. E. Hultzsch, Jātakas at Bharaut, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1912, p. 399.
6. P. 232, *Gāthā* 1.
7. This term is due to F. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Gonesis*, Vienna 1895, p. 9.
8. A detailed analysis of this method of representation is given by the author in the forthcoming publication: Erzählung und Bild, I. Die Darstellungsformen von Handlungsabläufen in der europäischen und altindischen Kunst; Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. Mainz, Wiesbaden 1980.
9. P. 233, *Gāthā* 4; p. 234, *Gāthā* 14.

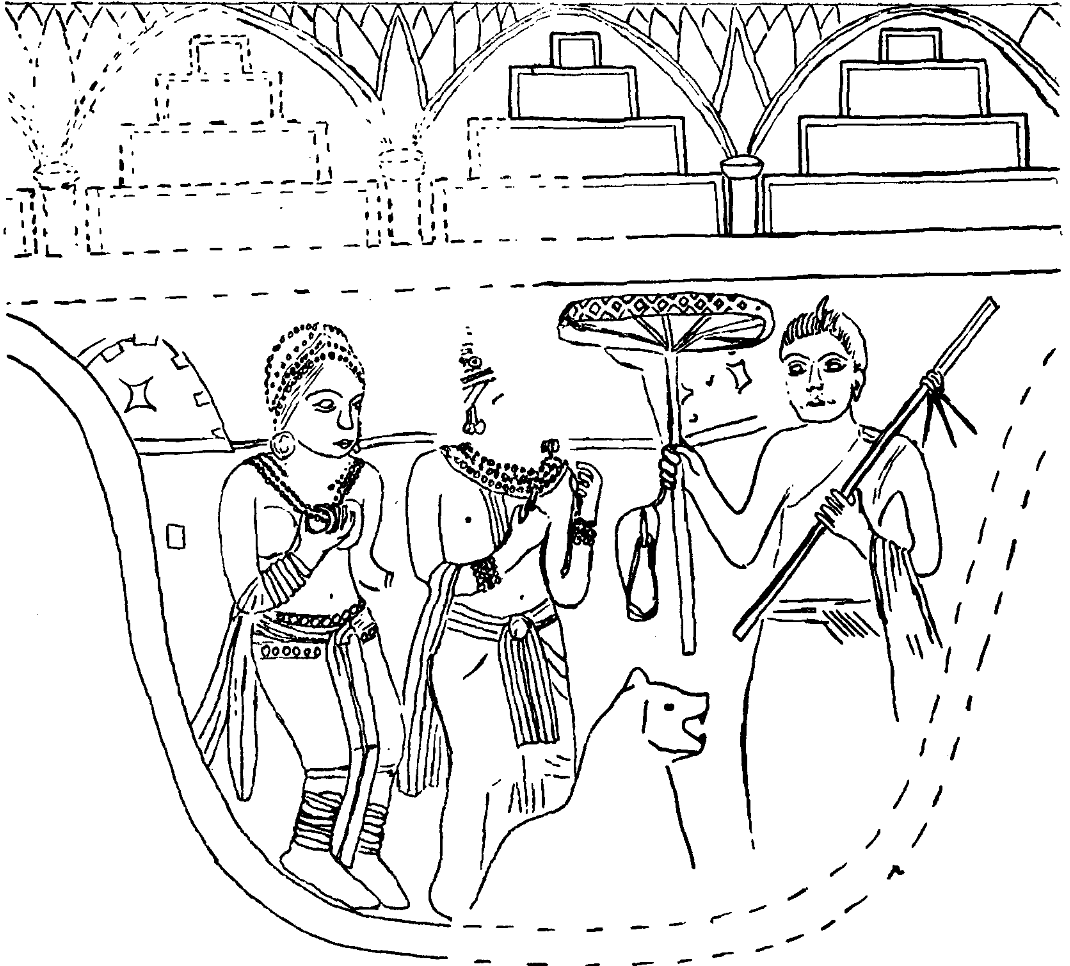


Fig. 2

after some time. He had wrapped his body in the skin of a monkey, in order to blame the five bad ministers of the king, who accused him to have killed the monkey. In the presence of the king and the five ministers he argued, that he could not have killed the monkey, as only such a man would be able to kill human beings, who would adhere to the

wrong philosophical views supported by the ministers.[1] Having thus censured the wicked ministers, he preached the king the duties of royalty.[2]

Our medallion (fig. 1) depicts this event exactly. The ascetic Mahābodhi, wrapped in the monkey's skin, preaches to the king surrounded by his five[3] ministers. As the wealth of a king forms one of the main subjects of royal considerations, the baskets with the *kośa* may indicate the theme of Mahābodhi's preaching. The scene on the right side of our medallion presents below the dog, who barked at Mahābodhi in the first part of the story. The horse and the elephant may indicate the courtyard, where this scene took place and where the ascetic, according to the *Jātaka* verse, took his meals after having fallen in disgrace with the king.[4] Unfortunately the details of this scene, in particular the figure of Mahābodhi himself, is no longer preserved.

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1. P. 237-40, *Gāthā* 16-33.
2. P. 241-44, *Gāthā* 39-59.
3. The figure of the fifth minister on the left side is destroyed.
4. P. 233, *Gāthā* 6.

DANCE IN THE KAṬHĀSARITSĀGARA

C. S. Sundaram

In classical writings references to the practice and cultivation of the art of dance are found in abundance. Somadeva in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*KSS*) mentions the practice of this art by men and women on the jubilant occasions when people made merriments with dancing and singing. A short survey of these is made in this paper.

In the *Kathāpīṭhalambaka* the invocatory verse on Gaṇeśa refers to the evening dance (*sandhyānṛtta*) of Siva,[1] which also finds mention in the oldest authority of the art, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NS*) of Bharata. He refers to it while dealing with the *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇa.*[2] The exhileration of Gaṇeśa on seeing the evening dance of Śiva, and consequently blowing his trunk like a trumpet are referred to in the invocatory verse referred to above. The description of Gaṇeśa tossing up his trunk and blowing through it as through a trumpet is evidently an echo of the description in one of the benedictory verses in the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti.[3]

Śiva as a dancer is again referred to in a verse of the twelfth *lambaka.*[4]

This verse is noteworthy because it mentions a technical term of dance, *śākhā*. This is one of the elements of *Abhinaya*[5]. Bharata mentions *śākhā* as one of the six aspects

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1. *KSS*. I.i.2.
2. *NS*. IV.12-13. 246.
3. — — — ताण्डवे शूलपाणेः ।
   वैनायक्याश्चिरं वो वदनविधुतयः पान्तु चीत्कारवत्याः ॥
   Mālatīmādhava of **Bhavabhūti Act. I. v. 2. p. 3,**
4. वातान्दोलितविस्तारि शाखाभुजकदम्बकम् ।
   मूर्धलग्नाभ्रसरितं नृत्यन्तमिव शङ्करम् ॥ *KSS*. XII.xxxiii.18.
5. *NS*. VIII.7.

or stages of *Śārīra-abhinaya*-s v. z. *vākya*, *sūcā*, *aṅkura*, *śākhā*, *nāṭyāyita* and *nivṛttyaṅkura*.[1] Śārṅgadeva refers to the term *śākhā* in his *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Therein he says that *śākhā*, *aṅkura* and *nṛtta* are considered to be important in the *Āṅgikābhinaya*. He defines it as the various movements of the hand.[2] The *abhinaya* based on *śākhā* is mentioned by Kālidāsa also in the appreciation of Mālavikā's dance.[3]

It is, therefore, significant that Somadeva uses the term *śākhā* with reference to arms (*Bhuja*) in the description of the tree which looks like dancing Śiva. The other deity who is represented as dancing is Gaṇeśa. In the introductory verses to the *Alaṅkāravatī*, *Mahābhiṣeka, Suratamañjarī lambaka*-s, *taraṅga*-s eight and thirty-three of *Śaśāṅkavatīlambaka* and a *stotra* on Gaṇesa therein, Somadeva pays homage to the dancing form of Gaṇeśa.[4]

In the last four references the virulent masculine type of dance (*tāṇḍava*) is referred to. This dancing form of Gaṇeśa is known as *Nṛttagaṇapati*.

He is described as having eight hands in which he holds the noose, goad, cake, ade, tusk, quoit and a ring, the remaining hand hanging freely.[5] The colour of the body is golden yellow and he dances with one leg lifted up.[6]

Somadeva mentions in *lambaka* nine the *tāṇḍava* of Bhairava in the company of the Yoginis, the divine female companions.[7]

In the *Karpūramañjarī*, a *saṭṭaka* by Rājaśekhara, a dance called *Yoginīvalaya-nartana-keli* is described as being performed at a celebration named *Vaṭasāvitrīvrata* observed in

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1. *Ibid.* XXIV.41.45.
2. तत्र शाखेति विख्याता विविधा करवर्तना *SR.* Adhy. VII. Cf. also *Nṛttaratnāvali* of Jayasenapati. *Adhy.* I. v. 30. v. 36. शाखास्यान्नृत्तहस्तानां वंचिद्यात्मविवर्तना ।
3. शाखायोनिर्मृदुरभिनयः *Mālavikāgnimitra.* Act. II. v. 8.
4. *KSS.* IX.i.1; XII.xxxiii.1, 44; XV.i.1; XVI.i.1.
5. पाशाङ्कुशापूपकुठारदन्तं चञ्चत्करं वलयमङ्गुलीयकञ्च ।
   पीतप्रभं कल्पतरूरुहस्तं भजामि नृत्तैकपदं गणेशम् ॥
   Ibid. Pt. ii, App. *Pratimālakṣaṇāni* p. 11.
6. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, T. A. Gopinatha Rao Vol. I Pt. 1. p. 59.
7. देवश्चक्रेश्वरस्तावदाययौ सोऽत्र भैरवः ॥
   संपूजितश्च सर्वाभिरुपहारैः स मातृभिः ।
   ताण्डवेन क्षणं नृत्यन्नक्रीडद्योगिनीसखः ॥ *KSS.* IX.vi.106.

summer. Nartakīs with small bells or *kiṅkiṇis* at their feet performed this dance with vocal music and *tāla* accompaniments.[1] This form of dance is preceded by *śmaśānābhinaya*, with masks of demoness faces, terrible noises of *huṅkāra*, *phetkāra* etc., and with *Mahāmāṁsa.*[2] In the end is found a *Kāla veṣa* or dark make-up and a *Hāsya* dance.

In the conventional descriptions of the battles poets usually refer to the dance of headless trunks (*kabandha*-s) and Goblins (*bhūta*-s). Such a description is also found in the *KSS.* in the battle waged by Sūryaprabha against the Vidyādharas.[3]

It may be observed that in all the above descriptions of dance the word *tāṇḍava* is a technical term which is used in contrast with *lāsya*. *Tāṇḍava* is the dance of Śiva, Vināyaka, Bhairava and such other masculine and virile dancers, whose movements are forceful (*Uddhata*).[4] *Tāṇḍava* is contrasted with *lāsya*, the delicate dance of Pārvatī. The *lāsya* fit to be performed by the ladies is referred to in a particular verse.[5]

Conventional descriptions of Apsarasas dancing on a festive occasion in Indraloka, Vidyādharīs at Mount Govindakūṭa and Apsarasas dancing to the music of the Gandharvas before Śiva at Mt. Kailāsa are found in *lambaka*-s six,[6] eight[7] and fifteen.[8]

It may be noted that the term *saṅgīta* is a composite concept meaning vocal and instrumental music and dance.[9] The full meaning of the word *saṅgīta* is a dance recital with music.

Bharata in his *NS.*, referring to the inborn desire of people for dance, speaks of its auspiciousness, and mentions the occasions at which people rejoiced in dancing.[10]

These occasions are marriage, birth of a child, processions of bride and the groom,

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1. *Karpūramañjarī* of Rajaśekhara. Act. IV.15-17. Cf. also *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja by Dr. V. Raghavan. p. 566.
2. *Karpūramañjarī.* Act. IV.sls. 13-15.
3. *KSS.* VIII.iv.92.
4. *NS.* IV.256; *SR.* VI.5.
5. प्रवर्तितलतालास्य–वल्गन्मलयमारुते । VII.1.5.
6. *KSS.* VI.i.59-60.
7. *Ibid.* VIII.vii.189.
8. गन्धर्वारब्धसङ्गीतमप्सरोनृत्तसोत्सवम् *Ibid.* XV.i.31.
9. *NS.* XXVIII.7-9.
10. प्रायेण सर्वलोकस्य नृत्तमिष्टं स्वभावतः ।
    माङ्गल्यमिति कृत्वा च नृत्तमेतत् प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ *Ibid.* IV.261-62.

and success in one's undertakings.[1] Numerous situations of this type are found in the *KSS*. For example birth of Naravāhanadatta[2] and Candraprabha,[3] marriage of Padmāvatī with Udayana,[4] marriage procession of Madhirāvatī,[5] and coronation of Mṛgāṅkadatta as king of Ayodhyā[6] and winning of a battle.[7]

From the most ancient times the art of dance was cultivated by the members of the high classes of the society. Princesses especially practised this art in palaces. The classical example of Mālavikā in Kālidāsa's play is well known. In a number of stories in the *KSS*. we come across many examples of the art as being learnt and displayed by such persons.

Princess Madanamañcukā, daughter of Kaliṅgasenā was educated in this art by the efforts of King Udayana. He thought that this is a necessary accomplishment as she was betrothed to Naravāhanadatta who was himself fully proficient in all the arts.[8]

Sometimes whlie fixing the marriage, the bride's accomplishment in this art was displayed before the bridegroom or his representatives. In a few stories we find references to this. Mṛgāvatī, princess of Ayodhyā, presents before the messenger sent by Sahasrānīka her skill in the art,[9] and Princess Madanasundarī of Kuṇḍinapura displays her ability in this art before the messenger from Prince Kanakavarṣa.[10]

Another princess Haṁsāvalī, daughter of King Meghamālin gives a regular performance in which there is a presentation of a new piece of dance taught by her teacher, Darduraka.[11]

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1. विवाहप्रसवावाहप्रमोदाभ्युदयादिषु ।
   विनोदकरणञ्चेति नृत्तमेतत्प्रवर्तितम् ॥ *Ibid.* 262-63.
2. *KSS.* IV.iii.79, 82.
3. *Ibid.* XII.xxvi.58.
4. *Ibid.* III.ii.85; XII.xxxiv.381.
5. *Ibid.* XIII.i.159-161.
6. *Ibid.* XII.xxxvi.232; VI.viii.121.
7. *Ibid.* XVIII.iii.87, 30; VI.viii.162.
8. *Ibid.* 161.
9. *Ibid.* II.i.40.
10. *Ibid.* IX.v.92.
11. तत्र दर्दुरकाख्यस्य गीताचार्यस्य वेश्मनि ।
    अहमासं स चैवं मां प्रसङ्गेनैकदाब्रवीत् ॥
    इह हंसावली नाम दुहिता नृपतेः पुरः ।
    नवीनशिक्षितं प्रातः स्वनृत्तं दर्शयिष्यति ॥ *Ibid.* XII.iv.76.

These verses give us a glimpse of how lessons and practices were got through in the mornings. We may recall here to our minds of the practice of fresh items of dance in the morning classes as found also in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.[1] Further mention is made of presenting newly taught dance pieces before the king, her father himself,[2] in the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* along with the full accompaniment of music.[3] In the *Viṣamaśilalambaka* also reference is made to Kambhā's performance of a new piece of dance before Indra.[4]

Princess, Mahallikā, the daughter of Prahlāda, lord of the nether regions, figuring in the *Sūryaprabhālambaka* stands out as a well accomplished dancer as described by Somadeva. There is a big feast for Sūryaprabha in the nether regions and their ministers before they start on their expedition against the vidyādharas. Then they assemble in a gem-set hall and there they witness a dance performance of high order presented by the daughters of the demons. In that context King Prahlāda's daughter, Mahallikā, asked by her father, exhibits her skill in dance.[5] In this description the poet Somadeva, using his deep knowledge in the art of dance, describes her dance making pun on several terms of dance like *lalāṭatilaka, nūpurapāda, smeradṛṣṭi* etc. These terms will be presently explained.

Anaṅgaprabhā, whose story is narrated in *lambaka* nine is a vidhyādharī. First she marries a brahmin and then seven others of different status because of a curse. When she is with King Harivara of Haripura, there comes to the court a dance-teacher called Labdhavara, from Madhyadeśa. Seeing his proficiency, the king employs him as a dance-master to the ladies in the harem. Amongst them Anaṅgaprabhā becomes the most accomplished dancer and love sprouts in the heart of the teacher and the pupil. She feels that if this is known to the King there will be trouble. She tells her teacher that as she has some jewels and he has some gold, cash and camels with him presented by the king they might elope and live happily.[6] The employment of a male dance-teacher for the ladies of the herem and the liberal remuneration that they receive may be seen in the above story. As in the case of music which is used as a motif in the development of the story of which the most prominent illustration is that of Udayana teaching Vāsavadattā dance also figures in this story as a means of developing love between the teacher and the taught.

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1. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act. I. pp. 11 and 12.
2. *KSS*. XII.iv.75-76.
3. *Ibid*. 75.
4. रम्भा नवप्रयोगं हि नर्तिष्यति हरेः पुरः । *Ibid*. XVIII.ii,124.
5. *Ibid*. VIII.ii.231-235.
6. *Ibid*. IX.ii.73.

When time came even the elderly queens expressed their joy with dance. At the time of Naravāhanadatta's coronation the three queens Vāsavadattā, Kaliṅgasenā and Padmāvatī are described as dancing in joy.[1]

In the references given above we have an idea of how dance was a personal accomplishment of the ladies of high society and the sidelight thrown by some of the illustrations.

Apart from princesses and teachers there were also professionals, both men and women. We come across women dancers *lāsikī*-s in some stories. Sundarī, a *lāsikī*, takes part in a *prekṣaṇaka*, presented in a temple at Kāñcanapura.[2] Another professional female dancer is Lāsyavatī, daughter of the dancer Lāsaka, who appears in the role of Amṛtikā in the dance of the churning of the ocean presented before the King Ugrabhaṭa of Rāḍha.[3] These professional dancers evidently belonged to the community of courtesans (*Vārayoṣit*), whose music and dance on every occasion of jubilation cannot be missed in *Kāvya* literature. References to such descriptions of dance by courtesans need not be especially pointed out.

Among males who took a fancy for this art out of love, we have a few figuring in some of the stories. Two most versatile characters we come across in the *KSS.* are Vararuci and Guṇaśarman. The skill in picking up this art by Vararuci appears to be unique in that he is able to perform a dance in all its details after witnessing it only once.[4]

The story of Guṇaśarman occurs in *lambaka* eight, the *Sūryaprabhalambaka*. In him is an extraordinary combination of attainments in all sorts of arts and branches of learning. One day the king and the queen ask him in private whether dance was also one of his accomplishments. 'Yes', says Guṇaśarman, but feels it improper to display the art before their majesties. The latter press him as they were sitting in private and as friends they say that there is nothing improper in his showing his skill in that art. After exhibiting his proficiency Guṇaśarman goes on to show his skill in music.[5]

The Kings as depicted in the *Kāvya*-s and *Nāṭaka*-s, and, according to the curriculum of studies, were made to learn the fine arts also. Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana, the great master of the *Vīṇā*, was not deficient in his artistic attainments.[6]

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1. *Ibid.* VI.viii.123.
2. *Ibid.* X.i.74-75.
3. *Ibid.* XII.vii.36-38.
4. *Ibid.* I.ii.35.
5. *Ibid.* VIII.vi.9-17.
6. *Ibid.* VI.viii.161.

TECHNICAL TERMS :

Several technical terms of dance are found used in context noticed above.

The term *śākhā*, an element of six *aṅgābhinaya*-s has already been dealt with.

Princess Madanamañcukā dances and sings before Naravāhanadatta. Her dance is described as comprising *aṅga* and other *abhinaya*-s.[1]

In the treatises on dance, *abhinaya* is classified into four kinds, *āṅgika*, *vācika*, *āhārya*, and *sāttvika*.[2] Of these *aṅgika* relates to physical action. The other three *abhinaya*-s, which are not expressly mentioned here, refer to dialogue and music (*vācika*), make-up (*āhārya*) and the manifestations of subtle emotional effects (*sāttvika*). Madanamañcukā's dance displayed all these four *abhinaya*-s

The *Śaktiyaśolambaka* refers to the presentation of a dance show in a temple. A merchant Īśvaravarman, attracted by the charm of *Lāsikī* Sundarī, goes to her house. Sundarī, whose company he enjoys, was an adept in different *karaṇa*-s in dance as well as amorous sports.[3] The technical term *karaṇa* used here with reference to her dance as defined in texts on dance is a particular combination of bodily movements comprising chiefly the bodily movement and the disposition of the hands and the legs.[4] They are one hundred and eight in number.

A further term of dance which occurs in *KSS* is *aṅgahāra*. *Aṅgahāra* is a dance sequence formed by the unit *karaṇa*. The graceful movements of the limbs, composed of combination of two or more *karaṇa*-s is called *aṅgahāra* and thirty two such *aṅgahāra*-s are described in the dance treatises.[5] A *kāpālika* dancing with proper *aṅgahara*-s is referred to in *lambaka* twelve.[6]

The description of the dance of Princess Mahallikā (*lambaka* eight) is replete with technical terms of dance. The poet skilfully uses these terms and describes both the dance and charm of Mahallikā by playing pun upon the words, *lalāṭatilaka*, *nūpurapādikā*, *smeradṛṣṭi*, *arāla*, *śikhara* and *uromaṇḍala*.[7]

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1. अङ्गाद्यभिनयैर्वृताम् । *Ibid*. VI.viii.164.
2. *NS*. VIII.9.12. *SR*. VII.20. *NR*. I.29.
3. विचित्रकरणे नृत्ते सुरते च विदग्धया *KSS*. X.i.81.
4. *NS*. IV.30-34,55. *SR*. VII.547-748; IV.1-243; Intro. p. 85.
5. *NS*. 20-27. *SR*. VII.789-891. *NR*. IV.244-377; Intro. pp. 60 & 85.
6. ननर्त स शिप्रमङ्गहारैर्यथोचितैः *KSS*. XII.33.
7. *KSS*. VIII.ii.234-235.

Of these *lalāṭatilaka* is one of the hundred and eight *karaṇa-s* already referred to. It takes its name after one of the uplifted legs touching the forehead by the toe as if marking it with a *tilaka*.[1]

Nūpurapādikā is a *cāri*. *Cāri* is a coordinated movement of the feet, shanks, thighs and hips, performed simultaneously. *Cāri* movements are classified into those strictly of the ground and those involving more movement above the ground, *bhauma* and *ākāśa*. The *Nūpurapādikā* mentioned in our text belongs to the latter class. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata[2] defines *nūpurapādikā* as a swinging up of the feet at the back and bringing it down. It is the chief *cāri* figuring in the *karaṇa*, *nūpura*.

Apart from the movements of hands and legs there are also expressions of other parts of the body, particularly those of the face, of which again the expression of the eye is the most important. The *dṛṣṭi*-s or the expression of the eye are classified into those of the *rasa*-s, the *sthāyibhāva*-s and the *vyabhicāribhāva*-s. The expression *smeradṛṣṭi* in our text, however, does not refer to any of the varieties of the look of the dancer. On the other hand, it emphasises a fundamental point, viz. that the dancer's face, and particularly the eye, should have a pleasant look as she appears at the beginning of the dance or in between the different dances.

The gesticulations by the hand is an important element in a dance performance. They are classified into single-hand-gestures (*asaṁyuatahasta*-s) and double-hand-gestures (*saṁyutahasta*-s). In the description of Mahallikā's dance there are some of the technical terms for the gestures of the hand, *arāla* and *śikhara*. Both these belong to the single-hand-gesture.[3]

Arāla is the hand in which the thumb and the pointing finger are bent in a curve and the other three fingers are slightly bent together.[4]

Śikhara is putting up of the thumb in a vertical manner with the other fingers in close-fisted pose[5]. *Arāla* takes its name after the fingers being bent and the *śikhara* from the thumb being vertically raised like a pinnacle.

Different from the hands specifically used for particular objects (*abhinayahasta*-s) there are movements of hands forming part of dance in which the poses of the hands are

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1. *NS*. IV.11. *SR*. VII.557-668. *NR*. IV.ii.134.
2. *NS*. X.33.
3. *Ibid*. IX.3.
4. *Ibid*. 42.
5. *Ibid*. 53.

not particularly associated with any specific object. These are called *nṛttahasta*-s. The *uromaṇḍala hasta* mentioned in our text forms one of the *nṛttahasta*-s.[1]

When Udayana enters Kausāmbī the poet fancies the city as dancing in joy to receive the King. The city was decorated with banners and playing a pun on the word *patākā*, the poet introduces another of the *abhinayahasta* viz. *patākā*.[2]

Patākā is the first of the single hand poses.

In several narrations Somadeva refers to the following types of dance viz. *Carcarī* and *Calita*. While describing the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, in *lambaka* nine, Somadeva narrates the incident of the hero visiting the Nārikeladvīpa. There in the vicinity of the mountains Maināka and Vṛṣabha, Naravāhanadatta sported in the gardens where the *Carcarī* was performed by the citizens with much merry making during the spring festival.[3]

We come across the performance of *Carcarī*, the spring dance in the play *Ratnāvalī* of King Harṣa. In the first act of the play we find the citizens of Kausāmbī, the capital of Vatsa country, celebrating the spring festival and performing the *Carcarī*. King Vatsarāja and the jester witness the same[4].

In the description of the festivals after the marriage of Mṛgāṅkadatta with Śaśāṅkavatī, in *lambaka* twelve, the author refers to the performance of *Carcarī*. The people in the palace, after having eaten and drunk and after having performed *Carcarī* went to sleep.[5]

From this we know that apart from the spring festival even the marriage formed an occasion for the performance of this dance.

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1. उद्वेष्टितो भवेदेको द्वितीयश्चापवेष्टितः ।
   भ्रामितावुरसः स्थाने ह्युरोमण्डलिनौ स्मृतौ ॥ *Ibid*. 196.
2. उत्पताका भुजलतां नृत्यन्तीमुत्सवादिव । *KSS*.III.vi.222; VI.viii.121.
3. *KSS*. IX.iv.58.
4. अये, यथाभिहन्यमानमृदुमृदङ्गानुगतगीतमधुरः पुरः पौराणां समुच्चरति चर्चरीध्वनिस्तथा तर्कयामि मदनमहमहीयांसं पुरजनप्रमोदमवलोकयितुं प्रासादाभिमुखं प्रस्थितो देव इति ।
   Ratnāvalī ed. by M. R. Kale p. 12.
   Cf. also समन्ततः शब्दायमानमर्दलोद्दामचर्चरीशब्दमुखररथ्यामुखशोभिनः
   For a discussion on *Carcarī* in detail, as occuring in *Ratnāvalī* and *Karpūramañjarī* see *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* of Bhoja Dr. V. Raghavan pp. 563-65,
5. *KSS*. XII.xxxv.201; IX.iv.58.

In the *Lāvāṇakalambaka* in the story of Urvaśī there is a reference to the *Calita* form of dance. In this context it is narrated that Purūravas, who had gone to the heavens for helping Indra in his battle against the demons., witnesses Rambhā performing *Calita*.[1] This *Calitābhinaya* is referred to here as divine dance.[2]

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa refers to *Calita* being performed by the heroine, Mālavikā at the suggestion of Kauśikī. Therein it is stated that this type of dance consisting of four parts is difficult to enact.[3]

Another dance piece presented is *Amṛtamathana*. In *lambaka* twelve, the performance of this piece is described[4]. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata refers to the presentation of the episode *Amṛtamathana*, praises it as leading to the realisation of the highest values and classifies it under *samavakāra*.[5]

A clownish dance performed by the *bhāṇḍa*-s is mentioned in the *Viṣamaśīlalambaka*. After Rambhā had finished her performance a *bhāṇḍa* in the guise of a goat started dancing with graceful movements.[6]

A dance hall set with gems,[7] *nāṭyaveśma*[8] and *Raṅgamaṇḍapa*[9] are also referred to. In *lambaka* fifteen the dining hall at Ṛṣabhagiri is compared to a dancing theatre.[10]

The hall was spread with coverlets, abounding in dishes (abounding in different characters), hung with curtains and screens, full of delicacies (full of delectable sentiments of various kinds) and it looked like the dancing ground of Goddess of Fortune.

The brief survey and the explanations given above give us an idea about the place of dance as an art, its patronage by the royalty, the interest evinced by the public and the technicalities of this art as found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

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1. जाने दिव्यमिदं नृत्तं किं त्वं जानासि मानुष । *Ibid.* III.iii.20.
2. चतुष्पदोद्भवं छलितं दुष्प्रयोगमुदाहरन्ति । *Ibid.* III.iii.21.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. Bālamanoramā Ser. No. 13. p. 33 4th edn. Madras, 1955. See *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja. (1963 edn.) pp. 555-56.
4. *KSS.* XII.vii.37-38.
5. *NŚ.* IV.1-3.
   दिव्यछागाकृतिर्भण्डो नर्तितुं दिव्यभङ्गिभिः ।
6. *Ibid.* XVIII.ii 132.134. See Jāyasenāpati's *Nṛttaratnāvalī*. Intro. p. 150. VII.125-28.
7. *KSS.* VIII.ii.231.
8. *Ibid.* IX.ii.270.
9. आस्तीर्णवस्त्रां पात्राढ्यां सतिरस्करिणीपटाम् ।
   नानाविधास्वाद्यरसां नाट्यवेदीमिव श्रियाम् ।। *Ibid.* iv.75.
10. *Ibid.* XV.ii.132.

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10. *Ratnāvalī* of King Harsha. ed. by M. R. Kale.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MADHUBANI PAINTING

Upendra Thakur

I. INTRODUCTION

A portrait of Kālī with a garland of flowers, or Durgā with eight arms, wearing a *sāri* and hair-style in the ancient tradition is sure to surprise an art-lover and make him feel inquisitive about it. These are specimens of folk-paintings of Mithilā, popularly known as Madhubani Painting. It was W. G. Archer with his perspective curiosity who first drew attention to the mural paintings of the Brāhmana and Kāyastha village communities of Mithilā, and styled them as "Maithila Painting".[1] To a discernible eye it would be clear beyond doubt that the bleak dust of poverty in Mithilā has sapped her artist's will and the surplus energy needed to ornament the house. The walls would appear blank, with, of course, a few traces of old painting here and there—fragments that bear testimony to the existence of powerful streams of inherited knowledge of colour, form and iconography. Be it a village in Madhubani, Darbhanga, Saharsa or Purnea, the paintings done on the mud-walls of huts go by this name. The outside world has come to know about this painting from the villages of Ranti and Jitwarpur in the district of Madhubani (till recently a part of the district of Darbhanga), and hence these murals have of late come to be popularly known as *Madhubani Painting*. In fact, the more appropriate name of this school of painting would be *Maithila Painting* as suggested by Archer.

It is interesting to note that such paintings are chiefly the pre-occupation of the fair, lean-faced womenfolk, the frugality and austerity of whose lives are reflected in their hands and faces. Surprisingly, men-folk are seldom known to try their hands at this art, and among the womenfolk, the Brāhmaṇas and Karṇa Kāyasthas predominate in this art of free-hand sketching.

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1. *Mārg*, Vol. III. No. 5.

The year 1967-68 may be treated as a landmark in the history of *Madhubani Painting*. The land was in the grip of a terrible famine. It was a period when the conditions of drought were at their toughest. The entire landscape was harsh, grey, cracked and desolate with remorseless heat scorching the earth. The dust and the sun, the absence of water and the disappearance of green from the landscape left a monstrous tonal uniformity. The need for worship of fertility and water, of tree and sap, became understandable. The burnt-up tiny plants in the denuded fields, full of cracks and fissures had been eaten up by the skin-and-bone cattle nosing their way for the green patches. Hungry millions swarmed the free kitchens, as there had been no crop for the last two years. Imbued with the zeal to help the famished villagers, a lady from the west trotted through the Madhubani villages. Gloom all around, but suddenly she was struck by the 'bright' figures on the mud-walls of the hutments. Bewitching and dreamy; the lady was told that this was done by an unlettered belle who, when cajoled by her, unhesitatingly reproduced it on a sheet of paper.

The drought and famine was over and with the coming of the generous monsoon the farmers again returned to fields with their bullocks. The Vidyāpati songs once again rent the air, and the western lady carried the *trophy* home thousands of miles away. The painting took a place of pride in her drawing room, and thus, after having languished for centuries for want of adequate patronage, the *Madhubani Painting* was 're-born' in 1967-68 A. D., and reached new heights through the unrelenting efforts of the Late L. N. Mishra, the then Foreign Trade Minister. However, the project would not have been possible without the active co-operation and compassionate understanding of craft traditions so deeply rooted in Upendra Maharathi, the noted artist of Bihar, and the devoted energy and love and understanding brought to the people of Mithilā by Bhaskar Kulkarni, a bright young artist. The people of Mithilā will always remember them with love and affection. Years of abstinence, or poverty, of dreary monotony had cramped the style, and eye and hand had to be freed of the years of sterility. It was through the endeavours of these noble souls that a sense of pride and joy permeated and transformed the women artists of Mithilā, in whom one could see now a simple dignity, a poise and a supreme self-assurance. The courtyards of the huts again came to be freshly plastered, and the colours started flowing in streams from doorways with old and young women painting with bamboo twigs and rags.

The artists are simple housewives who do not go to any school to learn the art of painting. Like the *aripana*, the wall-paintings are also done by unlettered belles who are born 'Piccasos'. What they could not do through alphabets, they do it through these

paintings. Every girl learns this art from her mother and near and dear ones at an early age. Mahā Sāvitrī Devī of Ranti village, Smt. Sītā Devī of village Jitwarpur, Smt. Buā Devī Jhā and Smt. Jagadambā Devī are some of the celebrated names who will go down in the history of Madhubani Painting for their invaluable contributions as regards styles, techniques and innovations wich have gained world-wide recognition for this art. Inspite of stringent financial conditions these talented ladies have been decorating their walls and enclosures, on every social and religious occasion, with beautiful paintings full of aesthetic values which at once dazzle the eye and captivate the mind and heart exposed to their ministration.

As we know, the paintings vary from village to village. Though individual work, it is recognizable by style and character. In a few of the paintings, vertical and horizontal space arrangements are so used as to divide the work, indicating a keen awareness of the rural stage where incidents separated by time and space are portrayed at the same moment, one episode leaping into action and movement when all movements on the rest of the stage remain frozen. In Mithilā the women of all communities paint, but the paintings of the women of the Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha communities are unique. Devices used in miniature painting to convey vastness by placing minute figures of man, animal and bird in juxtaposition with towering forms, so suggesting and establishing scale, are visible in some of these paintings which have the spatial quality of frescoes.

It is essential to know two things to have clear understanding and proper appreciation of a particular school of art—its origin and antiquity as well as the contemporary socio-economic background against which it has to be viewed as this helps understand its true character and ideology. As regards the first, it would be an exercise in futility to try to trace its origin. No one can say when this *bhitti-citra* (wall-painting) actually began. But the symbolic representations are very much similar to the designs of the Harappan potteries and motifs on Punch-marked coins. The story goes that even the ladies of king Janaka's houshold used to paint on walls. It is said, when Lakṣmaṇa went to the forest along with Rāma and Sītā, his consort Urmilā painted his image on the walls and used to worship it daily. How far these legends are true, we do not know but from the mention of this art in ancient literature of Mithilā it can be safely suggested that this is a very very ancient art. The Mughal, Kangra and Rajasthani styles have not at all influenced this painting which is the sole product of the rich imagination of the unlettered local belle reflecting startling rural virility and freshness. Since times immemorial these paintings have been booming up on the walls of mud-hutments and the floors of the houses on ceremonial occasions and vanishing overnight after the completion of the ceremony. No models are kept, no specimens preserved, it is all natural. The mother teaches the art to her daughter who in turn teaches it to her female offsprings. No one knows when this

art began. For generations the skill has been passed down from mother to daughter. When only a small child, a girl assists at these communal house-paintings and the patterns are early impressed upon her mind. By the time she is ready to marry she learns them by heart. Nevertheless, in many households the women make sure that the daughter will not forget the art when she goes to her new home. To ensure continuity paper patterns[1] are made as *aide-memoires* that she can take with her to her husband's house, where they will reinforce the designs already current there and perhaps introduce new elements too. The cycle goes on endlessly. With the coming of the next generations of artists, the older generation wilfully wipes itself out with the result that these paintings are as fresh and virile as the ever-flowing water of the Gaṅgā. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the exact period of its origin and growth. Strictly speaking, the Madhubani paintings have no past, like the one we have in the cases of other schools of art, but only the present which provides sufficient clues for the assessment of its artistic merits. In this way the paintings by Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas have preserved its distinctive character in an unbroken tradition continued over centuries. The work of the two castes has remained clearly distinguishable even though the houses may be in close proximity in the same village. Although similar in purpose and subject-matter, the two styles are markedly distinct.

As regards the socio-economic background it would suffice to say that this art is the exclusive jurisdiction and monopoly of the women-artists of Mithilā and there is perhaps no other country in the world where folk-painting is mastered by womenfolk only. Madhubani in this respect is a unique exception and this is a very important factor which should be borne in mind while evaluating this art. As we know, the people of this part of the country have carried conservatism to the excess of uncouthness. It is a land under the domination of a sect of Brāhmaṇas, extraordinarily devoted to the mint, anise and cummin of the Law. For centuries it has been a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms. For centuries it has passed through conquest after conquest, from the north, from the east and from the west without changing its ancestral peculiarities.[2] This has been a very important trait of their character as a result of which the Brāhmaṇical domination has left its ineffaceable marks in all spheres of life including art. While the Paṇḍitas of this land were widely respected for their erudite learning and scholarship, the ladies of the house were known for their beauty and fine aesthetic taste.

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1. The paper on which these patterns were made was hand-made, known as *basahā kāgaja* which was manufactured in Nepal and used to be sold in the towns and villages of Mithilā. This paper was also used for letter-writing till recently But now there is no demand for it and it is with a great difficulty that this paper is made available to the artists.
2. U. Thakur, *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, p. 6,

But they were always confined to the four walls of their houses, and had no role to play in outward activities. If one of the objectives of art is to satisfy some deep, inexplicable urge of the artist, then it can be rightly said that the Madhubani (Mithilā) folk-art was meant to break the monotony of their lives. For these artists there exists no world outside, except their own houses where they create a world of their own through fantastic colours on the walls and floors of their houses. This world of colour and fantasy moves through their fingertips, and a study of the themes or subject-matter and the colours used therein would make it clear that these artistic activities could be possible only by the Maithila women, and by no one else.

Besides satisfying the urge of the artists, an object of art has also practical utility. Judged from this angle it can be said that the Madhubani art has its own practical utility which is obvious on the occasion of different social and religious festivities—such as the birth of a child, various *saṁsakāra*-s and rituals connected with different *pūjā*-s and seasons. These born artists have no set principles and instructions from art-books to follow : "their own ideas and imaginations play a vital role in creating a particular object of art, and every such art, as a matter of course, is the creation and achievement of a particular individual who belongs to no school, but creates a school of his own. In other words, with every generation, a new school is born though the style remains the same".

The reason why Madhubani paintings have survived the onslaughts of time is not far to seek. A distinguished centre of orthodox religion and stronghold of Śakti cults, Mithilā has been since time immemorial the Centre of Tāntrik traditions which have provided the necessary inspiration behind the survival of this art which expresses itself through extraordinary shapes on all such religious and social festivals as marriage, sacred thread ceremony, dedication or renovation of temple etc. Being necessarily an integral part of family rituals, the women-folk master this art through inheritance and domestic tradition.

Except the names of a few living artists that have of late come to light (such as Buā Devī, Sītā Devī, Jagadambā Devī etc.) we have no information about the artists who blossom forth like wild flowers and fade off unseen, unwept, and unsung, leaving their fragrance for a grateful posterity to enjoy. Of the Indian painter in general, as an individual, little is known. The artists of other countries of the world appear as actual characters, their names and systems of working and living, their personal aspirations, their eccantricities and very failings, have been handed down to posterity. It is possible to live with them and share their joys and sorrows.[1] But, the story of Indian artist, if

1. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1947), p. 9.

such meagre records can be called, presents nothing tangible. The painter just walks through the pages of history a somewhat elusive being. Only his or her drawings of pictures remain to prove that he or she was a man or woman of no little character, and absorbed in his work. In all these productions a certain personality is discernible, but of an abstract nature, difficult to focus as an actual individual in relation to his or her art. In other words, *Madhubani Painting*, like Indian painting in general, is largely an anonymous art. It is interesting to note that the first Indian painter was a woman, Citralekhā by name.[1] And, credit goes to Madhubani for having produced generation of Citralekhās who have brought undying fame and glory to the land of their birth through their immortal artistic creations.

II. WALL-PAINTINGS OR MURALS

Wall-paintings in Mithilā homes are more direct and revealing and hardly symbolical of anything metaphysical. They seek to mirror the colour and variety of life in a spirit of fun and amusement. These paintings are generally executed on the walls of three places in the home : the *Gosāuni-kā-ghara* (the room of the family-goddess or deity), the *Kohabara ghara* (the "honey-moon" room for the newly-wed couple), and the *Kohabaraghara-kā-koniyān* (the verandah outside the *Kohabaraghara* used as a sitting-room for the friends of the bride-groom where they chat and laugh jovially in an uninhibited manner)[2]. *Kohabara* is often referred to in the poems of Vidyāpati, where as Jyotirīśvara in his *Varṇa-ratnākara* uses the word *vilepana* for painting. *Kohabara* indicates a specially decorated room with elaborate paintings on the wall where married couples enter for their first meeting after marriage. This room is specially set apart for this purpose and the walls of the room depict scenes from stories and legends, from folk-lore and mythology. For the paintings of the walls of this room, only one colour is used—*gairika*, a mineral pigment, i. e., red colour. In this particular drawing no other colour is allowed to be used except red which is traditionally supposed to be very auspicious. This form of art or *Kohabara* painting is not done by all women : only a few specialise in this drawing which needs expert hands. A careful study of these wall-drawings would show a great similarity between the earliest remains of Ajantā painting in caves IX and X and the ever fresh *Kohabara* paintings of Mithilā, which suddenly boom up on the walls and slowly disappear into the dim past. The early Buddhist literature also abounds in references to wall paintings.[3] In the *Puruṣa-parikṣā* of Vidyāpati we have mention of two artists—Śaśi and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
2. *Mārg.*, XX (1966), No. 1, p. 46.
3. *SBE.* XX.9.170-72; Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Chap. 57; Stella Kramrisch, *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

Mūladeva who had specialised in drawing and painting pictures depicting the incident of the two deer on one side and portrait of the princess and himself on the other.[1]

Some of the wall-paintings are narrative in character, but the majority of them are just glimpses of life-environments and nature. To the first category belongs the *Harisauna Pūjā-kā-citra* which is most popular, being a kind of "comic strip" done in outline figures only in *sindūra* (red lead or vermillion) on the wall. We have in this series about 20 sketches on different episodes in the life of the two girls—one happily married and the other not so. The happy one wishes to know what it is like to be in distress and cry and the sketches faithfully depict her several attempts to inflict sorrow on herself.

Generally the wall paintings are done in bright colours. The commonest of these in the *Gosauni-kā-ghara* are the *Harisauna pūjā-kā-citra* and the *sarovaracitra* (family pool) which include different kinds of fish, turtles etc. and also bear some imprints of the human hand. Obviously a ritualistic picture, it is accompanied by flowers of various kinds painted in a stylized manner around the entrance door of the *Gosauni-kā-ghara*.

But, the pictures inside the *Kohabara* are even much brighter. The figures of four women popularly known as *Nayana-yogina*[2] carrying various articles on their heads are painted in the four corners. While on the one wall we have a bamboo bush stylistically painted, complete with birds, there is, on the other, a stylised lotus plant with flowers capped by a human face depicting the moon. We have again a virtual gallery of paintings in the verandah outside the *Kohabara* which depict profusely illustrated scenes from the rural life of Mithilā such as the carriers of foodstuff, i. e., fish, curd, banana etc. from one home to another, from the bride's place to the bridegroom's place. Stylised fruit-trees like mango, pomegranates, jackfruit etc. symbolise fertility and the peacock dancing the love-scene in all its glory and the naughty scene from Kṛṣṇa's life when he stole the clothes of maidens swimming nude in the river have naturally an obvious appeal to the gay party in the verandah outside the *Kohabara* (honeymoon-room).[3]

The practice to decorate the walls of the *Kohabara-ghara* by the females seems to be fairly old. The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa makes pointed reference to this practice when it tells us that the *Kohabara-ghara* of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harṣavardhana (seventh century A. D.) was decorated with figures of gods and goddesses by the ladies, and on the gate of the outer walls of his *Vāsagṛha* (inner apartment) the figures of Kāmadeva (the god of sex) and his consort, Rati were beautifully painted.[4] The folklores of India abound in

1. *Puruṣa-parīkṣā*, ed. G. Grierson, Tale. 21.
2. For a detailed study of *Nainā* or *Nayanā-yogina* see Upendra Thakur, "Folk-Dance Tradition in Mithilā" in *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, K. C. Chattopadhyay, Fel. Vol.
3. *Mārg.*, Vol. XX (1966), No. 1, p. 45.
4. V. S. Agrawal, *Harṣacarita : Eka Sānskritika Adhyayana*, pp. 83-85.

references to such descriptions. In one of the Maithla folk-lores we have the description of the *Kohabara-ghara* by Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī, the three queens of king Daśaratha, father of Rāma. Kaikeyī is said to have painted a bunch of mango-fruits on the wall of the *Kohabara-ghara.*[1] Yet another Maithilī folk-song[2] speaks of Rāma's going to *Kohabara-ghara* along with his consort, Sītā after the completion of marriage-ceremony. We have many such folk-songs in Bhojapurī also, which speak of the painting of the *Kohabara-ghara* with figures of bamboo, lotus leaves (*puraina*) and the motifs of auspicious (*māṅgalika-cihna*), sandalwood paste, birds and figures of gods.[3] Thus, the practice of decorating *Kohabara-ghara* with beautiful paintings in Mithilā seems to be as old as the society itself.

The art of painting in Mithilā flourishes not as the mere hobby of sensitive individuals but as a communal activity rooted in tradition, an integrated part of a whole way of life, an inseparable aspect of Maithila cultural life.

W. G. Archer styles them as Maithila Painting[4] which, in its essentials, is the paintings of Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Maithila Kāyasthas. Besides them, the Rajputs, Sonars (goldsmiths), Ahīras (Yadvas) and Dusādhas also do painting, but in the latter cases the styles are more fragmentary. Archer believes that the custom of painting probably developed later, and Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Maithila Kāyasthas set the fashion and isolated households of other castes followed their examples.[5] In its broad essentials, therefore, Maithila painting or Madhubani painting is the painting of Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Maithila Kāyasthas. The instance of these paintings depends ultimately on the types of sensuality which they express. As we know, the place of painting in society, the function it serves and the circumstances responsible for its production have a great bearing on the style, and in order to understand the significance of Maithila painting as art we will have to take into account the conditions in which it flourishes.

Besides wall-paintings, it has been the custom with the Kāyasthas to occasionally paint on paper, and both Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas to paint the pottery, fans and earthen dishes used at marriages. But then, such painting has been entirely subsidiary to the wall-painting. It is the wall as a rectangle in a house which evokes and projects their art. These paintings have always been temporary because of their dependence on walls, generally made of mud, which account for their fading away so soon, say after five to six

1. *Maithili Lokagīta*, song. no. 14, p. 145.
2. *Ibid.*, Song. no. 4, p. 122.
3. *Bhojapurī-grāmagīto*, Song. Nos. 239, 242. Also see *JBRS*, LIV, p. 208ff.
4. *Mārg*. Vol. III, No. 3, p. 24ff.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 25.

years. It is because of their temporary nature and sudden disappearance or washing away, due to the crumbling of the walls, that we have hardly any segment of the wall paintings done in the past. In a society where there is no class-artist and painting exists simply because it is felt to be necessary, the future is left to look after itself. The fact remains that this art of painting has been carried on from times immemorial to the present day as part of the culture and so long as the culture persists there is no need for particular paintings to remain. In fact Madhubani painting is a way of painting rather than a set of pictures. The paintings dissolve but the style goes on.

The most peculiar characteristic of this painting has been that it is done entirely by the house-hold ladies as "an ordinary domestic art". On certain ceremonies paintings are required and the women have been doing them as integral parts of the ritual. With the end of the ceremonies art lapsed, the houschold tasks were resumed, and only the painting showed that a vivid sensibility was active in the area. With the recurring of the ritual the paintings would be resurrected, "the ordinary person would again become an artist" and again, the painting would bloom on the wall. Thus, linked to the ritual and domestic traditions of the area "Maithila painting is as natural and as necessary as sweeping the courtyard or going to a well".[1] It became entirely a women's faculty and thus overlapped with the sexual division of labour. While its relationship with the domestic life made it permanent with the Maithila culture, its importance with rituals only made it temporary on walls.[2]

What, after all, are the requirements of such paintings ? Before one can apply oneself to the act, three things are necessary—a suitable surface on the wall, the requisite paints and finally some brushes. Of these the wall-surface involves least preparation. It is plastered with cow-dung and wears an even smoothness. In some of the households, of course, the mud-walls are first whitewashed and then the paintings are done straight on the smooth mud-surface.

Since modern brush and paints were unknown to the villagers, they took the help of indigenous colours and brushes. Though the paints are now a days all commercial products and bought in bigger bazars, formerly they were prepared indigenously. Madhubani, for instance, supplies the villages within a redius of ten to fifteen miles, while Forbisganj (Purnea) is the source of supply for the village of Bhadreshvara, the paints coming mostly from Calcutta. These paints have a narrow range of colours, generally *gulābī* (pink), *pīta* (yellow), *nila* (blue), *sindūra* (red) and *sugā-paṅkhī* (green). Before the bazar colours started to be used, the black was prepared from burnt *jowar* (or barley

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1. W. G. Azber, *Mārg*. Vol. III, No. 3, p. 25.
2. *JBRS*, Vol. LIV, p. 295.

seeds) or by mixing lamp soot with *bela kernel* and cowdung, yellow from turmeric or from *chūna* (lime) mixed with the milk of the *bada* tree or *banyana* leaf-milk, orange from the *palāśa* flower, red from the juice of *Kusuma* flower and green from the leaves of *bela* trees. The colours used in the Maithila Kāyastha paintings are grounded in an earth palette of subdued browns, yellow ochres, dust pink, tones of turmeric and *harda* (*haraida*)-myrobalan, madder red and black. Now a days, colours are bought as powder and then mixed up with goat's milk. Black is obtained by burning straw, and white by powdering rice and mixing it up with water.

Thus, from the above it would be seen that the entire colour scheme was indigenous which suited the taste of the people, particularly the women folk. Indeed, the colour is probably the most emotive of the elements. It is both "a scientific element and an element of organisation. Scientifically, a colour is a wave of light perceived by means of sensation which it arouses in the eye".[1] The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[2] describes two sets of colour varieties, the first consisting of primary colours—red, white, black, yellow and green—and the second of white, yellow, black, blue etc. The *Śilparatna* mentions white, red, yellow, and *śyāma* (dark, blue or black) as primary colours. But, the colours used in Madhubani paintings are usually deep red, green, blue, black etc. Besides deep colours, they also apply light yellow, pink, lemon etc. which generally come under the category of primary colours as enumerated in the *Citra-lakṣaṇa*[3] (the *mūlaraṅga* or the *śuddhavarṇa*). But of these colours, red in its varieties has been mostly used in these paintings, which is hardly to be found in other schools of painting. In the *Śilparatna* we have three gradations of red-*sindūra* for light red, *gairika* (mountain born) and red (mineral-chalks) for middle tint and *lakṣa* (lac) as juice for deep colour.[4] In this colour scheme there is no provision for light and shade : the paintings are only two-dimensional having length and breadth. The women-artists of Bhojapuri-speaking area generally use lime (for white), *vermillion* (for red), *haldi* (*haritāla* for yellow), *Kājala* or *Kājara* (for deep black), *geru* (for grey) for decorating *Kohabara-ghara*. One Bhojapuri folk-song describes the use of nine colours by village-women for painting the walls of the *Kohabara-ghara*.[5] As noted above, the women-painters of Mithilā prepared different colours through indigenous methods and the colour-composition and delicacy of lines are simply superb and produce fantastic effects. If we compare the wall paintings of Mithilā with those of Jaina-Āgama

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1. Gardner, *Art through the Ages*, p. 6.
2. Chaps. 27 aud 40.
3. *Citra-lakṣana*, pp. 36-39.
4. *Vāstu-śāstra* Vol. II, p. 413.
5. *Bhojapurī-grāmagīta*, nos. 10ff. For details see no. 12f.; Also see *JBRS*, LIV p. 309ff.

and Rajput paintings we would find a few similarities. In both these paintings the eyes are stretched and elongated, the nose is pointed and the forehead narrow. In Bhojapuri paintings, however, these elements are wanting as the *citra* here is plain and simple, devoid of ornamentation.

When the paints are ready the artists apply two kinds of country brush, neither of which has yet been commercialised. For outline and tiny details a small bamboo-twig is used, the end being slightly frayed so that the fibre is like hair, while for putting on the larger washes, a small piece of cloth is tied to a twig popularly known as *pihuā*. These twigs, though strange to ears, can, when handled by a skilled painter, "contribute effects as alert and nerved as those from the sable brushes of an European artist".[1]

Having thus prepared the colours and brushes, a group of artists generally consisting of four to five ladies and girls, set out to paint. It is not that all the women necessarily know painting : in some houses the women do not know this art while in others the degree of skill varies. This has, therefore, necessitated an elastic system of house to house co-operation within the village. It is a kind of co-operative community art in which the more skilful women of the caste come in to help their sisters, and the younger girls stand by to learn. With every thing ready, painting starts under the charge of one of the older ladies who starts working on the outlines. Unlike other schools of painting, no preliminary sketching is required in the Mithilā School, and the outlines are done in a single flow of the brush. If by chance a line goes wrong (of which there is hardly ever a possibility), it is erased while wet, but if it dries up before the error is detected it is scraped away. When the outlines are done the lady incharge hands over the work of smoothly filling in the spaces to other women of the party.

While the work is in progress, the younger girls prepare the twig brushes and hold the vessels of paint. Sometimes, however, they are also allowed "to fill in details and do flat washes of colour" which enables them to gradually learn and absorb the style. This practical training makes these younger girls "minor experts" by the time they are eighteen, i. e., the time when their second marriage rites are performed and they go to their husbands' houses. Nevertheless, they are very often not allowed to direct an operation independently until they are middle-aged.

The Maithila Kāyasthas, however, follow a slightly different procedure, and in most households paper "notes" are employed for the paintings. In particular, a large copy of the *Puraina* or lotus circle backed with cloth and kept as a valued family possession, is maintained in almost all the families, without perhaps a single exception. In some of the households paper "notes" of other standard forms are also kept and they

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1. *Idid.*, p. 26; U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, p. 388.

are usually utilised and paintings done from them when the ceremonies come round. As in the Maithila Brāhmaṇa painting, in the Kāyastha-paintings also, the younger girls learn partly from watching the older ladies and partly from making paper 'notes'. After having practised the style on the paper, they copy from the paper to the wall. From paper to wall—this process goes on till they attain maturity in style and skill. It is only after they become experts in the art that they abandon the notes and paint direct. In other words, this process is "one not of painting new and private forms but of transmitting a series of ancestral idioms".[1] The style "is learnt rather than developed" and a girl "repeats rather than explores".[2] Though these paintings are works of individuals, nevertheless, they communicate a much larger concept—a caste style. It is true, such a style springs from certain gifted individuals who paint with a series of private idioms which, however, are never regarded as merely private, but always, in some degree, public and general, because, in essence, the individual effort projects mainly a caste sensibility, and in this caste style the work of the individual is almost completely forgotten and solowly but effectively the style in the course of time comes to "operate as a caste reserve of ancestral forms". Sanctioned by tradition and accepted by centuries-old custom these forms become the idiom of a village, which uses it whenever it paints and enthusiastically shares it with other villages of the same caste—a unique phenomenon, not to be found elsewhere in any school in the history of the art and painting.

From the above survey it clearly emerges that every village need not, and does not, paint in identically the same way because of a certain range and variety in the idioms. Moreover, the emphasis or selection does often vary from one village to another resulting in minor but significant changes which are also caused due to the process of repetition with the result that different villages adopt slightly different forms. Notwithstanding the so-called minor changes in forms, the fact remains that these paintings of the caste express the same set of values and use almost the same idioms and methods over the area as a whole. As it were, the styles are standardised in strict conformity to caste sensibility which admits of no compromise or change. Though the factors supporting a caste style keep on naturally varying with different castes and different regions, in the case of Madhubani painting three facts which are decisive may be briefly noticed :

(i) By training and temperament the women of Mithilā, like women of other areas, are conservative and would resist any deviation from a routine or their traditional way of life. Changes, if any, may occur unconsciously or by accident, but in no case is there a deliberate desire to modify or change the existing age-old style. The girls and

1. *Mārg*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 26-27.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

women would not like to change their pattern or style of painting which they have been taught since long.

(ii) As we have noted above, painting is an act of ritual, an integral part of certain rites, performed in the family from time to time. The rigidity of these rites has greatly influenced the style and just as the rituals know no deviation from the set caste and regional pattern and must always conform to ancestral ways, so also the painting must always rigidly repeat the style.

(iii) A feminine-caste style like that of Maithila painting depends largely on one important factor, i. e., the circulation of women through the area. The younger girls learn the style from their mothers and other women of their village till the age of marriage. But they have to go to villages strung out across Mithilā and may be even at the farthest end from their homes after their marriages. This being the case, one part of the area always acts as a check on other parts. "No household is ever entirely isolated and if a variation occurs, it is sooner or later tested with reference to the methods of other parts".[1] In other words, the caste-sensibility, responsible for producing the style, acts as a final check on its extensions.

III. SUBJECT MATTER

As we know, the Maithilas are deeply religious and the triple influence of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti mingles in their character. Goddess Durgā is the *iṣṭadevī* of all Maithila Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas. The influence of goddess Kālī has been quite predominant in the tradition of *Tantra* which has greatly influenced their character, and it is these traditions by way of rituals, incantations, *yantra*-writing and other floor-drawings that have found adequate expression in the wall-paintings of Mithilā (or Madhubani).

The motifs or the designs include conventionalised flora and fauna, circles in series, spiral or curvilinear devices, series of short lines, foot-prints of fragmentary (imaginative) pictures illustrating legends and stories, giving glimpses of environmental and natural life. While the religious paintings include various gods and goddesses, the secular and decorative paintings contain various symbols of prosperity and fertility such as elephant, horse, fish, lion, parrot, turtles, bamboo, lotus, flowers, *puraina* leaves, *pāna* flowers, creepers, *svastika*, *śaṅkha* etc. Besides, we also come across in these paintings aspects of agricultural animal-life which plays an important role in the rural economy of Mithilā. The animal in fact is a duplicate representation of energy and character of god.

Thus, the subject-matter generally falls into two groups : (i) a series of heavenly

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1. *Mārg*, Vol. III. No. 3, p. 27.

forms to which are sometimes added the more mundane figures of the bride and bridegroom along with members of their wedding-train and (ii) a series of strictly selected vegetable and animal forms. Although there seems to be no manifest relation between these two groups, the fact remains that "just as the painting owes its origin to a ritual need, it is ritual that determines the two groups and charges them with import".[1]

The first occasion that demands paintings is the *yajñopavīta saṁsakāra* (the sacred-thread ceremony) which is the most important rite that makes along an adult member of his caste. The second occasion is the dedication or the renovation of the family-shrine, and finally the two ceremonies of marriage—the initial wedding rites and the final rites when the newly wed couple gets formally linked together and enters a new life. However, it is not compulsory to do paintings on the occasion of the dedication or the renovation of the family temple, it is purely optional. But, on the occasion of the sacred thread ceremony, a specially built hut for the purpose is thoroughly decorated with paintings. It is, therefore, wrong to say that "its existence depends on the piety of the household and the skill of its ladies while its subject-matter is confined to gods and goddesses".[2] In fact, painting on this occasion, too, is as essential as at weddings, whose vitalising presence makes the rites lively, thrilling and inspiring, and without which the ceremonies would turn feeble and anaemic. Why this is essential would be clear only when we take into account the actual nature of the paintings done on these occasions.

On the former two occasions the subject-matter is confined to gods and goddesses, depicting Durgā and Kālī, Rāma and Sītā, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, Śiva and Pārvatī, Gaurī and Gaṇeśa, Rāvaṇa, the ten *Avatāra*-s and the sun and the moon, whose presence through pictures creates a truly auspicious scene and blesses the whole family. To these are sometimes added the bride and bridegroom and their attendants as if they were participating in the celestial assembly. At weddings, the following objects—the sun and the moon, a bamboo-tree, a circle of lotuses, parrots, turtle and fish come into prominence. While the former is the symbol of the creation of auspicious scenes and divine blessings, the latter symbolise fertility. In other words, the paintings draw their themes mostly from the *Purāṇa*-s and the epics. It is commonly believed that the favouring influence of these deities make the marriage successful and happily result in progress.

The most prominent image looming largest on the walls are the bamboo-tree and the ring of lotus, the *Kamalavana* or *Puraina*. The focus is on fertility, and the marvellously intricate diagrams of the generative organs. The lotus circle is not only a lotus but also the symbol of the bride's sex, while the bamboo-tree is a bamboo-tree, it also represents

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 27; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 388.
2. W. G. Archer, *Mārg*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 24.

a *phallus* (linga). In other words, the lotus is female, the bamboo male. The *puraina* drawn in the *Kohabara-ghara* (the bridal room) has seven heads of the bride with nose-ring, inset within a circle of lotuses. The heavy stem of the bamboo divides the circular forms, and surrounding the circle are the marks of the auspicious to bless the couple—the bride in a palanquin, the sun and the moon, the *navagraha*-s (nine planets), the *sāthi*, a diagram of the flowering bamboo, the banana palm, a *citrabandha* showing the single leaf *aripana*—all drawn with great precision and finesse of line.[1] According to Archer, "the latent symbolion reaches its height in the many paintings in which the bamboo-tree is depicted not as aloof and apart but as driven through the centre of a clinging circle".[2] Thus, the lotus is the diadem and the bamboo tree is the honoured stem which it encircles.

There are also minor symbols of parrots, turtles and fish and the sun and the moon. In Indian context, the parrots symbolise the love-birds and they figure constantly as images of the bride and bridegroom in the folk-songs and poetry. They are an inseparate element in Maithila paintings representing the happy lovers. Turtles also have a significant place for two reasons—(i) they associate water with all its beneficent power with the marriage, their strange shape being diagrammatic of the lover's union and (ii) their head and tail emerging from the shell look like the exact counter-parts of the bamboo plunging in the lotus. Then, there are fishes which are emblems of fertility and finally we have the sun and the moon which are inserted because of their life-giving qualities. In many cases the sun is believed to fertilise and impregnate, while the moon is supposed to be the source of *amṛta* (the heavenly nectar), commonly believed to be potent in assuring a long and blissful life. To sum up, the bamboo-tree and the lotus represent the diagrams of the sexual organs; parrot symbolise the love-bird; turtles diagrammatise the lovers' union and fishes the emblems of fertility, and the sun and moon symbolise the life-giving qualities.

From the above it would be seen that the paintings and drawings mostly represent celestial deities, animal and human beings as well as some interesting pictographic designs. While the human figures are mostly abstract and linear in form, the animals are usually naturalistic and are invariably depicted in the profile. This combination of naturalistic and abstract treatment, especially of the highly conventionalised human form, appears to be a significant feature of this art. Apart from these, the significant designs probably bear a clue to some interesting psychological trend of the local mind. Obviously, the painting of these images on the walls was, and is, to fulfil a number of needs. As rightly

1. Pupul Jayakar, *Times of India*, Annual, 1971, p. 36.
2. *Mārg*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 28.

suggested by Archer, the pictures decorate a chamber, bringing line and colour to the service of ceremony : they constitute a pattern of ancestral usage and associate beneficent deities with the private hopes of humble men. "Above all, they invoke the sympathetic action of natural forces with all their magic and mystery".[1]

A comparative study of the two styles (Maithila Brāhmaṇa and Kāyastha style) would show that the Brāhmaṇa paintings start with a rigorously selected subject-matter without any attempt to transpose a literal scene or create a photographic semblance of an ordinary situation. The quenched ochres and earth colours are replaced by vibrant scarlets and yellows. The line of the paintings is static, unimportant and subordinate to colour. Energy and passion find expression through the use of red and yellow as monochroma washes over large surfaces of the paintings. Colours create the mood, determines the pulse and tempo, divide the space and provide the background. "The use of deep pools of red concentrate energy and acts as a coalescing factor binding together various elements".[2] These paintings very often illustrate themes from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* A theme of great lyrical beauty, treated again and again, is that of the child Kṛṣṇa caressing a calf. In other paintings, Kṛṣṇa is depicted stealing the clothes of the *gopī*-s (the Yadava girls) and leaving them naked and vulnerable. He is also depicted as subduing and dancing on the hoods of the Śeṣanāga (the serpent in the water of the Yamunā river). In another scene he is painted as stealing milk and curd, and dancing with Rādhā in the mystic *rāsa maṇḍala.* Vidyāpati's lyrics, which sing of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa drench the country-side of Mithilā and provide the lyrical mood and background for many of the paintings of Mithilā —Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Besides the *Bhāgavata* themes, we have animals symbolising power and fertility—the elephant, the fish and the tortoise, all drawn with extreme care. The tiger decorated with stripes, chevorons or stylised floral forms, emerges from bowers of flowering tree, and minute lines are drawn to delineate the hair on neck and tail of the animals.[3]

The painters do not seek to place objects or figures in a natural relation to each other. The figures float like aimless creatures in a tranquil aquarium or fragile angles against an airy background. For instance, fishes soar aimlessly above the head of Durgā, a child walks on a strand of Śiva's hat and a servant and a peacock sit on the radiant arms of Durgā. As a matter of fact, Smt. Buā Devī, one of the most talented living painters of Madhubanī, has been making new experiments and introducing innovations while painting Śiva or his *liṅgam.* Some of the pictures of *Śivaliṅgam,* made by her, show

1. *Mārg.*, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 29.
2. Pupul Jayakar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

the *lingam* stretch out of the traditional Madhubanī boundary which is not surprising because she has come to have a reputation for experimenting. One such *lingam* emerges like a black-blue mould hallowed with strips of bright pink and saffron. It has a touch of modern art, blending symbolism, ambiguity and colour and seems to have a Tāntric insight. Though she took to painting for economic reasons, she has reached a point of artistic maturity where art becomes a means of communication. Similarly, Durgā, the most powerful form of Pārvatī, a Tāntric goddess, has always aroused the artistic sensibilities of Sītā Devī, another great talented living painter of Madhubanī. She has done hundreds or Durgā images and her vehicle, the roaring lion. A cursory look at these paintings is sufficient to convince any one that these paintings, barring a few, are as it were casual collections of images which impinge on each other and aim only at a general radiance.[1]

How is this effect procured ? The painter reduces the figures to flat disc in a single plane and deliberately expunges the qualities that separate a parrot from the tiger, an elephant from a dancing milk-maid and Kṛṣṇa from a lotus with the result that the figures are reduced to flat segments of colour, with only a faint basis in nature but with the added intensity resulting from simplification. Strangely, the reduction of forms to simple shallow planes goes side by side with the distortion of their contours which look like a thin and wiry line betraying over-tone of fantasy, while at the same time preserving their identity as natural objects. The different parts of body are treated less than as objects—reducing it to mere vegetable or geometric forms. In many paintings "the tiny arms of Durgā and the sections of her crown radiate like the petals of a sun-flower. In another the hat of Śiva and the ribbons at his waist throw out luxuriant shoots like a sprouting creeper. The forms acquire, as it were, the waving succulence of plants".[2] Another peculiarity of these paintings is to be found in the development of "geometric energy" which is vividly manifest in the bust of Pārvatī and the thighs and legs of Śiva resulting in a system of rigid triangles. In another we have a tiger and a bamboo reduced to curling spirals and in a third the waists of two figures are depicted as opposing semi-circles, and yet in another, Durgā is shown as a set of semi-circles, triangles and rounded squares. These geometric distortion make the forms "acquire a strange tone of potent dignity".[3]

Besides these geometric and vegetable forms, there is another aspect which gives the figures an air of fantastic strangeness. This consists of prolonging by the nose into the forehead and locating the eye in the profile. This strangeness can be seen in some of

1. W. G. Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. III, no. 3, p. 31.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

the *liṅgam* figures portrayed by Buā Devī, which we have already noted in the preceding pages. These images with their receding brows and staring eyes while on the one hand betray innocence, on the other look an alert and sinister power. Moreover, colour plays a vital role in the creation of these non-literal images and has two distinct uses. In the first place, only pure colours are used with the result that the images have a staring clarity. As shown above, a painting uses generally two colours, or only five colours—a yellow, a red, a black and a blue. But, whatever colour it is, it has always the same tone and all the colours have a vivid brilliance; the yellow being a sunny lemon, the blue a bright ultra-marine. As the use of these colours is strictly simplified, the images, as it were, blaze from the walls betraying a strange intensity and a supernatural splendour. Moreover, the clarity is linked to a lack of realism, with the figure hardly bearing the colour that it would have in ordinary life. This can be explained in terms of religious influences and conventions. For instance, the figure of Kṛṣṇa is often black just as "in Christian art the robe of the Virgin Mary is normally blue".[1] Sometimes, however, this religious convention is not strictly adhered to, and in many cases we come across normal colour being distorted for one with powerful associations of vitality. Instances are not wanting in Indian poetry where blue often does not literally mean b l u e but a symbol for beauty, red is used to enhance the sense of life and not for an accurate description. This is a very vital point because in Brāhmaṇa paintings colours are generally used by way of suggesting vitality, and not for literal transcription. "The torso, legs and arms of Śiva are sometimes a sunny yellow and his *dhotī* a bright pink while the blouse of Pārvatī is green and yellow, her head pink and her skirt ochre".[2] Thus, these fantastically strange colours, often distorted, are another important elements in the power of the images.

And, finally there is a unifying element which makes these paintings lively instead of frail and feeble. Just as verbal rhythms make village poetry imagery throb with life, so also in these paintings, the figures are related to each other by colour and linear rhythms which really have little or no relation to the shape of the wall. Moreover, there is hardly any interest in formal symmetry as is evident from the duplication of the left side on the right or the exact reproduction of one side on the other but in reverse. The paintings in fact aim at developing furtive vital relations, and each image allows its neighbours a proper living space and stretches out into a thin and scarcely visible pattern like the sprouting branches of a tree—the lines combining with an unobstrusive rightness

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

and their colours quietly balancing across the wall. "In their fragile wardering rhymes, their analogy is with the art of Klee and Miro".[1]

Many of the Tāntric rituals can also probably be explained with the help of the present day *aripana* and wall-paintings of Mithilā. The *mantra* diagrams display an intimate phase of the highly abstract Tāntric art. The words associated with these *mantra*-s bear close relationship with the basic (*bīja*) *mantra* words used in Paurāṇic and Tāntric worships. The designs are invariably blended with human as well as superhuman associations. The same mysterious feeling may be traced in a *sujanī* or in applique. On any piece of art which, being a rich source, has stimulated and invigorated their uninhibited minds for centuries.

These wall-paintings have an exquisite simplicity and irresistible attraction. The variety and inventiveness make them perhaps most sophisticated and elegant of all popular paintings in India.[2] They display all the attributes of emotions, thoughts, ornamentations, symmetry and perfect colour-scheme. One is naturally struck with wonder to know the innovative spirit and rich aesthetic sense of these unsophisticated artists who can easily compare with the best artists of the world. It can be rightly said that "before the Vedas, and before the first temples of stone, another India, several other Indias existed. And, what is even more surprising, in a manner they still exist".[3]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
2. R. K. Choudhary, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.
3. A. Mookerjee, *Indian Primitive Art*, p. 30.

SOME TERMS OF INDIAN ARTS—AN ANALYSIS

(Mrs.) **Kapila Vatsyayana**

My aim in this article is to consider some terms which are relevant for a study of the Indian arts but which are probably also relevant for a study of social system and perhaps, therefore, even the sociology of religion. These terms, I have tried to analyse as conceptual model rather than merely technical terms which have been used in particular contexts. The two pairs of seeming binary opposite which I should like to consider here are *Śāstra* and *Prayoga* and another pair namely *Mārga* and *Deśī*, each one of these pairs would probably throw problems which would be of relevance to a larger understanding of Indian tradition. The pair *Śāstra* and *Prayoga* will be taken first.

Controversies on the relative importance of theory and practice have been heated and intense in the 20th century in many disciplines, the science, fundamental and applied, social sciences and the humanities. Scholars have argued vehemently from either side on the primacy of the theoretical and conceptual or the empirical or pragmatic. Others have chosen to place the two in an hierarchical order through an inductive or deductive approach. Yet a third school has advocated a judicious balance between the two and have spoken of the organic and intrinsic inter-dependence of the two. Any student of the contemporary social sciences or the humanities has thus been obliged to state his terms of reference by stressing the theoretical or the field work or has proceeded from a set of empirical data to deduce or propose a theory or has commenced from a theoretical base or what is today called a 'conceptual model' or framework (or even an ideology) and has then fitted his data and facts into the conceptual framework. The discussion on the methodologies and their applicability has been near pervasive in almost all disciplines and has given rise to the several schools and sub-schools in critical writing on history, social sciences and literature and the various 'isms' that any student of art often encounters. It is not necessary to enumerate all of them here. A sizeable body of critical writing in these fields has been devoted to the problem of specific approaches and methodologies. Perhaps it is the result of these discussions that some disciplines like history earlier consi-

dered as the humanities are today seeking to be recognised as social sciences, and art-studies are taking a new analytical turn.

Alongside has been an overwhelming insistence on an inter-disciplinary approch to a problem, where all factors. viz. scientific, technological, political, social, lingustic and artistic should be taken into account. In some contexts, this has been termed as 'holistic' approach subscribed to by some and rejected by others.

My purpose in prefacing my specific query with these general remarks is precisely to draw attention to the fact that the contemporary controversies and discussions in 'modern disciplines', be it of the social sciences, humanities or the arts, have counterparts in India at a self-conscious intellectual level and conversely that a fresh look at the twin concepts of *śāstra* and *prayoga* in the Indian context may well provide insights with contemporary validity for understanding the problem of methodologies of modern disciplines more generally and the very real problem of finding a suitable terminology for understanding the concepts underlying the Indian arts more specifically.

First and foremost thus would be the question of defining the word *śāstra* and to find a viable English equivalent which can be used in all the varied contexts in which the Sanskrit term is used. Despite the Sanskrit lexicographers explaining the term in the generic sense for a body of knowledge pertaining to any single discipline, the term has been largely used during the last hundred years or more for the English term 'theory' or 'theoretical'. This is almost universally accepted in many contexts and disciplines. At the outset it needs to be clarified that the term theory in its primary meaning excludes applicability or the practical and suggests an insistence on the speculative and contemplative. It implies knowledge or pure science as such without reference to its practical application. Further it is agreed that a 'theory' is a tentative statement of a supposed principle or relationship as of cause and effect, in short a working hypothesis. Only in its derivative meanings does it suggest the abstract principles and universal truths of any body of related facts. Now if we return to the word *śāstra* and examine the varied contexts in which it is used as a suffix it will be immediately clear that while the second derivative meanings of 'theory' can serve as a rough equivalent in some contexts, the primary meaning of the 'theoretical' as pertaining exclusively to the 'speculative' and the 'contemplative' (from its Greek roots and terminology) is almost ruled out. We find that the term appears to be used in the Indian context invariably to disciplines which have an 'applicability' aspects inbuilt into the theoretical system. Neither the *Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Cikitsāśāstra,* the *Śilpaśāstra*-s or the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* appear to exclude the practical, the applied, and the empirical if we may call it as such. If we extend this argument, even if somewhat facetiously to ask the question why the Indians never thought of suffixing the last *puruśāratha, mokṣa* with the word *śāstra*, the answer will be self-evident. Also while

there is a *Ātma Vidyā*, there is no *ātmaśāstra* or *brahman śāstra*, the two key words of Indian speculative thought. The absence of these to my mind is indicative of the fundamental approach of significance and cannot be lightly discussed, even if it has been facetiously stated. In short, the *śāstra* appears not to concern itself only that which is purely 'speculative', 'contemplative', ideational' opposed to the empirical or practical. In short, all aspects of life which pertain to the physical, material, socio-economic, political, physiological, even psychical can be abstracted to a set of principles or norms, a framework or hypothesis, but the spirit, the intangible that transcends them and runs through them all cannot be bound within the walls of a formal theoretical framework. The methodologies of attaining a psychical state of 'beautitide' an experiential state of bliss are set forth, but not the state or the nature of the last final experience. It was perhaps the recognition of this distinction between theoretical, speculation and *śāstra*, that has led many others to use the words textual 'manual', 'treatise' canon as equivalent or cognates for the same word *śāstra*. Now it begins to shed all the nuances of speculative thought and certainly the ideational and acquires a technical meaning of a 'manual', a set of rules whose efficiency lies only in its utility and practicability. This would be particularly true of all that we today recognize as 'technical sciences' and the 'crafts'.

The term assumes yet another dimension when we begin to look at a sphere of life which is today called the 'behavioural sciences'. Here we repeatedly come across the term '*śāstrācāra*' and '*lokācāra*' or '*kulācāra*' as antonyms. A related pair *daivika* and *laukika* has also been used by modern sociologists to analyse the behavioural patterns of Indian society, by often dissociating them from the original contexts in which they were used. We are aware that the Brāhmanical, Buddhist and Jaina pantheons, the gods and goddesses were classified as *śāstrika* or *śāstrīya* (that which is sanctioned by codified sacredotal texts) and *laukika* or sanctioned by the practice and conventions of people. Today they are being equated largely to the behavioural (and not just ritual patterns) to a socio-economic or cultural elite within a caste structure and to a popular culture mostly identified as rural or tribal. This has led to tacit acceptance of a seeming diachatomy between the two—a hostility rather than a 'continuam' or differentiation within a system. Little wonder thus that the 'tribal', 'rural', 'urban' classification of sociologists, placed in a unilinear progressive graph has not been able to contain the complexities of the Indian social structure, where the so-called *śāstric* is equated to theory or 'sacred textual', and the '*maukhika*' equated to the '*laukika*' where the terms begin to denote the 'literate' and the 'non-literate' or 'oral traditions' of this society. By a perverse logic the '*śruti*'—would then become *maukhika* and a perverse logic *laukika*. And can this be accepted? The discussion has acquired further complexity by the use of the terms 'sanskritisation' and 'vernacularization' in the purely sociological context where they denote the processes by

which a less affluent or privileged class of people begin to acquire the behavioural patterns of an elitist society.

Leaving sociology alone for the time being, although relevant to our discussion when we turn to the arts, we find that the term 'classical' is being largely equated to the term '*śāstric*' or '*śāstrīya*' and it is in this sense that many are using the term *Śāstrīya nṛtya*', '*Śāstrīya kalā*', etc. somewhere vaguely taking into account the sacredotal and the elitist mentioned above, and again tacitly rejecting the speculative and the conceptual. Here also *deśi* or *loka* are used as anotonyms and equated to tribal or rural or more imprecisely folk in the sociological sense. Conversely the word 'classical' is also used as a term for periodisation, to indicate somtimes pre-8th century, at other times pre-10th century and in some cases even pre-6th century developments in Indian art. Then classical is opposed to medieval.

This is obviously a transference of the Greek term 'classical' used in the Western context to denote both a period and a qualitative artistic genres. Examples from other spheres could be added to lay bare the complexities of the situation in which we appear to have accepted the same terms to denote vaguely but not precisely the use of Indian connotations.

Thus, it is evident from the above that the term *śāstra* in contemporary terms can stand for a theory as an abstraction from a set of facts, a 'technical manual', or treatise, sociological term for the behaviour of certain groups, a term to distinguish the literature, textual from the oral and a term for differentiating qualitative artistic excellence. The word theory on the other hand does not quite often open out all these avenues of exploration. An examination of the 'manuals', treatises and formulae will make it clear that the '*śāstra*' indeed was a deduced conceptual model which provided for applicability and thus variation and modification. Each '*śāstra*' is only a framework or structure and thus rather more universal than local, but in no event is it a scripture as ordinarily understood. All it does is to break up the constituents into its smallest parts or units and then builds an edifice through a schematic design of inter-relationships. This is true of the *Vastu*, *Ślipa*, *Saṅgita* and *Nṛtya śāstra*-s and others.

Now for the term *prayoga* and all that it has been used to denote. Again, except for its primary meaning of joining together or of throwing a *missile*, it has been broadly used for applicability. In its extended meaning as constant practice, with a stress on the empirical, it has connotated experimentation, innovation and variability. Indeed the nuance of experimentation, has led to a literary school of the experimentalists in Hindi and other literatures called *Prayogavāda*. We had observed that the anotonym in the sociological sense to *śāstrācāra* was *lokācāra* or *deśācāra*. In the artistic sphere *prayoga* has not been equated to *deśi* or *loka* but has certainly conveyed the insistence on *vyavahāra*,

abhyāsa (practice) and all that we understand by the empirical, the practical, the experiential and related to a specificity of time and space. In this last sense it comes closest to *deśi* as almost a cognate, but not a synonym, but clearly differentiated from the universal movement or constant flow of the *śāstra*. In the context of language alone, we come across the phrase *devabhāṣā* or Sanskrit (or refined) and *deśi* equated to the regional or local. The perusal of the discussion on the term *prayoga* again clearly unfolds the complexities, and the varied contexts in which it has been and can be used.

This brief enumeration of the two terms and the possibilities of variety of approaches from the academic to the sociological or to the purely artistic will perhaps make it clear that the terms denote concepts and processes which cannot be easily contained in their English equivalents so far precisely or imprecisely used. Each of these would need to be pursued first separately in the specific disciplines and contexts and then taken togther in their underlying organic inter-relationships and inter-action of disciplines and areas.

One more question may be raised at this stage and this is the new insistence on an inter-disciplinary approach. If we look at the Indian system, we find that an inter-disciplinary approach was at the core of the vision and structural system and some of the complexities of terminology arise only becuse cognizance of this inter-disciplinary system is not taken into account. No one discipline could be understood in its totality without taking into account the findings in other disciplines or to put it simply that the *śāstra* was just that ability to cull out the 'universals' from a series of empirical facts drawn from a variety of related or cognate disciplines. The story of *Viṣṇudharmattora* of the conversation of Vajra and Mārkaṇḍaya crystallises pithily the vision and methodology in the arts. But it is so in other disciplines and spheres of life. My other submission is to stress the need for identifying the contours of this inter-disciplinary approach where the inter-connections and interdependence in all levels and spheres of life was being taken for granted or was fundamental to the study of any one discipline. So far scholars of Indian studies have identified and have dealt with in great detail on the micro classificatory system contained in each unit or discipline but have not placed these micro-classificatory details and distinctions in a total perspective where each unit was serving as an indispensable role in a larger organic system full of concordances, synthesis, with a clearly identifiable pattern of distinctiveness, autonomy, multi-layering and inter-action. The system has a staggering complexity which almost belies identification, but closely observed it has the rigorous organisational pattern and structure of, let us say, the London Tubes, the Paris Metro, or nearer home the Body system. It is no accident that the image of man as *Puruṣa* has been uniformally used as a term of reference in all disciplines and spheres of life, ranging from the cosmological to the purely physical as one symbolising coordinated activity where each part is interconnected with the other.

These remarks may appear far-fectched but perhaps the pertinance of these general considerations will become clear as soon as we turn our attention to the one *śāstra* with which I am concerned. My purpose is to examine the role of the *śāstra* and ***prayoga*** in all the senses enumerated above in one single context, i.e., the context of the Indian arts and to illustrate how the two are both conceptually and structurally inter-related and inter-dependent considered as two essential aspects of the same artistic concern and also to identify the exact methodologies of the inter-disciplinary approach as evident in this single sphere.

One could adopt the historical or chronological approach and trace the history of the Indian arts over a period of two thousand years, i.e. what is termed as a diachronic study of the two terms, or the synchronic approach and trace it through space, in a given period. I am with purpose departing from this standard method and am instead trying to understand the Indian arts from the point of view of (a) their conceptual speculative base (which can be called *śāstric* with provisions); (b) the structural framework which provides the methodology, the ***vidhi*** of creation; (c) to see the relationship of what was laid down in the *śāstra* (canons, treatises, theory) and all that we understand by the term creativity; (d) and finally to point at the fact that in this sphere all that we often recognize as the *śāstric* need not be operative or seen at the urban, elitist level of society but may be traced in forms, genres which are normally called *deśī*, *laukika*, folk or tribal in sociological terms.

All these concerns will naturally need to be narrowed down to any one art or any one aspect of an art because neither all the arts nor even all aspects of one art could be delienated upon in this small article. In order to illustrate my theme, I shall focus on a seemingly unimportant aspect of the *nāṭyaśāstra* (the theatre arts) namely *āṅgikābhinaya*, called simply dance or movement. generally considered unworthy of any academic discussions. But this concern with movement, or dance itself may take us ultimately to underline and identify how a simple seemingly spontaneous rhythmic use of the body cannot really be understood in its entirety without taking into consideration disciplines as far flung as *cikitsāśāstra* on the one hand and mathematics or early geometry or trignometry on the other.

So to return to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This is a *śāstra* both in the primary sense of presenting a theory or a conceptual framework of artistic creation, but it is also a *śāstra* in its extended meaning in so far as it is compendium of technical details of applied methodologies and skills required for a successful presentation of drama. But what is of the greatest significance is the fact that this *śāstra* takes cognizance of the empirical, the applied in its fundamental conceptual framework and in this sense it is unique on one level, but representative of the Indian system on the other, because it may well be a *śāstra*

of *prayoga* or a *prayogaśāstra*. If this sounds a contradiction in terms, let us very briefly examine the text itself, the text in all its manifold complexities and the corrupted forms in which it has come down to us notwithstanding the heroic effort put in by Rama Krishna Kavi, Ramaswami Sastri and others and without, as far as possible, the help of *Abhinava Bhārati*. The latter, not because it is not significant but, because we should try and understand the text as it stood at least eight hundred years before Abhinava interpreted it with the aid of the *śaivite darśana* or of others who examined it from the several yardsticks or positions of the specific systems of *darśana*-s.

The very first verse raises the problem of terminology, because Bharata begins by saying: 'I shall now explain the canons of Drama'—(*Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Nāṭya*). Fortunately, it is not necessary for us to point out that *nāṭya* does not denote literary work alone but it deals with the creative effort of both the 'kavi' and the theatric director, meaning thereby *śravya* and *dṛsya*. Indeed Abhinava gupta may be brought to aid for he too insists on pointing at both the literary and the non-literary here.

This object of diversion or play[1] was created for all the *varṇa*-s including the *śūdra*-s. In making what appears to be a simple statement to be welcomed in a society wedded to the goals of egalatarianism, Bharata in one stroke through two phrases has opened up a whole Pandora box which would demand reconsideration of all sociological deductions of of equating the *śāstric* or *śāstrācāra* to the behavioural patterns of the upper classes in terms of status and position and the preserve of literate society and also if *śāstric* is equated again to the 'literate' or the written word. If we transport ourselves to the 4th or 2nd century A.D. whichever lower or upper dating for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and re-read this within the framework of the normally accepted notion of an isolated hierarchical society that these verses so far slurred over by most commentaries and modern interpreters, we may as well come to the conclusion that this was a most extraordinary radical, almost revolutionary, statement. For us it holds a crucial key to an understanding of what follows. Bharata does not stop at throwing the doors open by an insistance on the equalising role of theatre but proceeds further by basing his text on all that which is considered 'sacred', pure and beyond the pale of secularity the profanity. After all, why this insistance on drawing upon the four Vedas and why the term *śāstra* and why open it to all and sundry and not just make it another exclusive category for the lowly in status and socio-economic conditions. This statement as we know is made in answer to a question which asks "How did the *Nāṭyaveda* similar to the Vedas originate and for whom is it meant, how many parts does it possess, how far does it extend and how is it to be applied? The answer goes

1. *NS.* IV,7-12.

further, by stating that it will incorporate all the *śāstra*-s[1] and all the arts and crafts (*Śilpa*). This is the *śāstra* of *Nāṭya* in itself and not an exclusive *śilpa* of a theory, it is a combination or amalgam of the theoretical, the conceptual, i.e. the *śāstric* universals of all the arts (*śilpa*). Does it not already point at the organic relationship of the conceptual and the empirical and does it not open the door to what follows in thirtysix long chapters? These pithy statements themselves will make it clear that the *śāstra* and the *prayoga* were not to be considered as exclusive categories and that also a clear distinction was made between *śāstra* and *śilpa*.

Somewhat later the word *prayoga* is used in the more specific sense of a performance, when the Devas are considered unfit (*ayogya*) to do anything with drama (*nāṭya*, i.e. actual dramatic performance). This is followed by the positive answer that the sages (*ṛṣi*-s) who have kept their vows alone have the capacity to put this into practice (*vrata*)[2] finally the statement that the art was learnt from Brahaman from whom Bharata and his sons studied both it and its application or usage (*prayog*)[3].

A reading of the first ninety and odd verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* makes it clear that the *śāstra* was not dissociated from the *prayoga* at any stage and in fact the latter was almost primary[4] (in the context of the dismemberment of the *Daitya*-s[5] or when the *daitya*-s object[6] or for dramatic performance[7]).

Now it is clear that in conceiving a major artistic theory of creation (aesthetics), Bharata was at no time even aware that there existed or could exist an irreconcilable diachotomy between theory and practice in the modern sense. In short, the abstract and the concrete, the conceptual and speculative and empirical were inbuilt into one single system.

We could minutely analyse the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or any *śāstra* in terms of structured system where each single component is considered individually and then in its relationship to other parts and the whole. This could be shown through a diagram to lay bare the rigorous structured system which is followed by this first theoretician of the Indian tradition namely, Bharata.

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1. M. M. Ghosh taranslates this as scriptures in *Nāṭyaśāstra* I.15.
2. *NS*. I.23.
3. *Ibid*. 1.25.
4. *Ibid*. 1.46, 47, 53, 54 and 58.
5. *Ibid*. 1.64.
6. *Ibid*. 1.76-78.
7. *Ibid*. 1.76, 96, 97, 99, 100, etc.

However, we must pass only to one crucial pair namely, *mārga* and *deśi* and a subsidiary pair related to these *Nāṭyadharmī* and *Lokadharmī*.

In a brilliant essay on the Nature of folk-lore and Popular Art Coomaraswamy discusses the twin concepts of *mārga* and *deśī* and sacred and profane. Mircea Eliade also, in a different context, examines the sacred and profane not only in the Indian context, but also in the context of other cultures of the world. Sociolologists and anthropologists like Milton Singer and Baidyanath Saraswati have examined these concepts on the operative level through field studies. Milton Singer examines the role of the 'cultural performance' in Madras City and Saraswati investigates the social organisation of Kashi.

We may begin with an examination of these concepts, first on the theoretical level in Sanskait literature and as interpreted by creative writers and critics and then examine their validity in the contemporary artistic manifestation both in sociological and artistic terms.

Coomarswamy equates the word *mārga* to a highway and traces its derivation from *mṛg* to chase or hunt especially by tracking. He cites the verses in the *Ṛg-veda* where the word is repeatedly used in this sense. "In *Ṛg-veda*[1] men are said to pursue (*mṛgyante*) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (*mṛgaṁ na*) with offerings of milk and kine; in other context[2] Varuṇa is compared to a "fierce-beast" (*mṛgastuviṣmān*) ; in yet another place[3] the Bhṛgus track Agni by his spoor (*pādaiḥ*) like some lost beast (*paśuṁ na naṣṭum*)". Coomaraswamy concludes "that *mārga* is then the creatures' "runaway", "the track to be followed" (*padavīya*). One sees clearly what values are implied in the expression *mārga* (way) and how inevitably that which is *mārga* is likewise '*Vimukti-da*' since it is precisely by the finding of the hidden light that liberation is effected.

The *Sāmaveda*, on the other hand, is the first to distinguish two levels of musical expressions. The *mārga* here can be equated to a definite combination of notes in a given order, and belonging to the sphere of celestial music of the *gandharvas*: this is distinct from the music of 'man' which can be regional and local. The *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* makes a similar distinction[4] in connection with the seduction of *vāk*, which is won over by the Devas from the Gandharvas. The word *mārga* is discussed again in the *Puṣpasūtra*[5]. The *Maṣakakalpasūtra* mentions it in the same way. The real discussion on the subject,

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1. VIII.2-6.
2. *Ṛgveda*. VII.87.6
3. *Ibid* X.46.2.
4. III.2-4.
5. I.1.8.1 and 2.2.11.1,4—and 8 and 2.2,4.2,

however, continues in the technical context of music in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*[1] the, *Visnudharmottara Purāṇa*[2], the *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*[3] and of course practically all the musical texts ranging from *Saṅgita-ratnākara*[4] to *Saṅgitmakaranda*[5] the *Nṛtyaratnakośa*[6] the *Saṅgitadarpaṇa*[7] and many others. The texts on drama and aesthetics also discuss the subject and Dhanañjaya in the *Daśarūpaka*[8] applies the terms to the relative use of gestures and instrumental music. Here the term is used in its generic sense and as part of discussion on the *Madhyamagrāma*.

An almost equally significant and pervasive discussion takes place on the term *deśi* both in the context of music as also in that of dance and drama. It is extended to the field of languages in most part of India.

Coomaraswamy's interpretation is again significant and valuable. He derives *deśi* from '*diś*' to indicate and hence '*diś*', "region" or "quarter" or "local". He draws attention to the phrase *deśaṁ niviśa* to settle in a given locality, *deśa-vyavahāra* or *deśācāra* "local custom", "way of world" and *deśya* "native". He goes on to explain that these are not merely terms that would be derogatively employed by city people or courtiers to countrymen in general, but that could be employed by dwellers in the city of God or in any Holy land with reference to those beyond the pale. Heaven lies "behind the falcon", the worlds are 'under the sun' and in the 'power of death'; "world" is 'Logus' logically from Latin 'Locus', a place defined by given conditions; and '*Laukika*', 'mundane' is literally "local"; it is precisely here (*iha*) in these worlds that the kindreds are "settled", "localised" and 'native". He concludes, "From the celestical or solar point of view *deśi* is thus mundane, human and devious as distinct from super mundane, divine and direct: and this distinction of *mārga* (=*swarga*) from *deśi* as sacred from profane is in full agreement with the sense of expressions *rañjaka* (pleasing impassioning, affecting, etc.) and *vṛthā* (Wanton) in the manner it has been used in the context of the *Śatapatha*. Before examining these conclusions of Coomaraswamy it may be added that several texts of music and dance following the *Nāṭyaśāstra* continue to use the term in the primary sense. Later, a whole class of composition is termed as *deśi* both in music and dance. *Deśī* is both a category of *rāga*-s as also a particular *rāga*. In dance also, it is both a particular

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1. 28.31.
2. 111.18.4-12.
3. VIII,15.8.
4. 1.4.11.
5. 1.1.60.
6. 1.1.185.
7. 1.4-6.
8. 1.15.

dance as also a category of dance specially of the *nṛtta* (abstract type). The *Saṅgitaratnākara* clearly distinguishes the *deśi rāga*-s from the *mārgi* or *gāndharva* music[1] and also defines the *deśi rāga* as belonging to a particular region[2]. The particular model scale of the *deśi rāga* is defined as one which *Re* is used as *Graha*, *Aṁśa* and *Nyāsa*, excludes the *pañcama*, has a *mandra gāndhāra*, and a frequent use of *Ma*, *Ni* and *Sa*[3]. In several other places he refers to the term, specially in the context of the discussion on the *jāti*-s and *tāla*-s.

Writers of *Saṅgitamakaranda*, *Rāgavibhoda*[4], the *Saṅgitapārijāta*[5], *Bhāvaprakāśa*[6] more or less follow the *Saṅgitaratnākara*. The *Daśarūpaka*[7], along with the *Saṅgitaratnākara*[8] also discuss *deśi nṛtya* or *nṛtta* in several contexts. The text on *Śilpa*, the *Samarāṅgṇasutradhāra*[9] also includes a discussion on the subject. We could enlarge this list of references, but the few cited above make it clear that in the arts, there appears a recognition of two categories distinct, but related like many other pairs of opposites in Indian thought and religion. We shall examine whether or not the categories pertained to celestial and terresterial or as Coomaraswamy suggests, sacred and profane, or to a few purely formal elements of technique in the following pages. However, at this stage it is necessary to point out that in all these texts ranging from the *Sāmaveda* to the *Bṛahaddeśi* there is no suggestion of hierarchial stratification in terms of *gandharva* or *mārgi* implying a category of music and dance which belongs to the elite *brahamins* and the upper privileged classes and *deśī* to the lower group of the vaiśya-s and śūdra-s. Also there is little to support the view that one form was tribal, rural and village-based and the other town or urban-based. Celestial and terresterial are qualitative artistic terms, not sociological categories. It would have been perfectly understandable for the theorists to relate the *mārgi* or *gāndharvagāna* to the *nāgara* and the *deśi* to the *grāma* in sociological terms, and the terms placed in a hierarchy of status. The system of establishing correlatives and correspondences was so pervasive and so well established that the addition of one more set of correspondences in sociological terms in a total framework would be logical. Its absence is a significant pointer at the fundamental approach to the concepts. From this primary source material there is no

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1. *Saṅgitaratnākara*. 5.4 and 6.358
2. *Ibid*. 6.713.
3. *Ibid*. 11.2-102.
4. *Ibid*. 1.6.4.2.
5. 21.
6. 10.296.12.
7. 11.9.
8. Chap. VII.
9. 31.58.

basis to establish a correlation of the *mārgi* with the urbane and the *deśi* with the villege or tribal. Alas, in much contemporary popular and even scholarly writings this simple correspondence has been tacitly accepted as a working hypothesis. *Mārgi* is considered 'classical' temple or court based, and *deśi* rural or tribal based, almost implying sacio-economic levels, rather than qualitative differences in artistic terms.

The classification of the *mārgi* and the *deśi* in music and dance texts does not assume the proportions of a debate or a controversy: it is only a statement of differentiated categories. In the field of literature the terms are transferred and extended to connote two parallel and related traditions often in tension. In contrast to the fields of music and dance there is a clear evidence of an awareness of polarity, a consciousness of both hierarchy and opposition. From the East to the West, and North to South, but particularly in the East and South India, the differentiation between *Saṁskṛta* (refined sophisticated) and *prākṛta*, between Sanskrit and *deśi bhāṣā*-s was known and much discussed. It ran parallel to the discussion on the concepts of *śāstrācāra* and *deśācāra* or *lokācāra* in the field of social conduct. The *śāstric* began to denote categories also of all that was sanctioned by texts, and *laukika* all that was santioned by practice and conventions of the particular group of people. Indeed this pattern in literature and social conduct or what one would term as religious practices was a uniform pattern in all parts of India. While in literature there was controversy and debate of the relevant merits of social conduct and life-cycle ritual, these were clearly complimentary categories. A history of Telugu and Kannaḍa literatures brings out the contours of the controversy particularly in the period ranging between the 12th to the 18th century. A similar although not as marked a debate can be traced in Bengali, Oriya and possibly other languages.

It will be recalled that in the case of music and dance (and for that matter sculpture and painting) the codifiers take into account the local or regional styles and give *śāstric* sanction to the regional developments, without establishing hierarchics or evaluation. This is largely a post 10th century phenomen. In literature, there is an undertone of tension and some resistence from either side. Much effort and energy was spent both by creative and critical writers on the use of the *devabhāṣā* or *deśibhāṣā*. The parallel development of Sanskrit and regional languages continued well into the 11th century, but the emergence of full-fledged languages was a new factor.

It is not necessary for us to go into the details of these literary developments, particularly of the medieval period, but it is necessary to bear in mind that the spatial situation of different strata of society does not necessarily coordinate with the categories of *mārgi* and *deśi* as discussed in the theoretical texts, in the context of literature. In texts on music, dance and sculpture they refer to regional distinctiveness and variation as distinct

from a formal language, and grammar of Art. Modern sociologists and cultural anthropologists have tried to understand these terms from their particular point of view. Milton Singer in the penetrating study on Madras, now incorporated in his study "*When a great tradition modernises*" and Richard Lenoy in the '*Speaking Tree*' have both gone into the question. Mr. Singer pertinently takes into account the views of Dr. V. Raghavan on the subject based on the latter's paper "Popular music and classical music", besides his own field study and comes to the conclusion that there are two rhythms in cultural change.

"The differentiation of folk, popular, devotional, classical and modern urban cultural performances in relation to urbanisation suggests that the more general processes of change are operating in different spheres of culture. Each sphere of culture seems to be subject to opposing directions of change. One type of change tends to push a given cultural sphere in the direction of greater refinement and strict codification, the other in the direction of maximum popularity and practicality. At any given time, the content of a given cultural sphere is something of a compromise between two extremes, a range of intergrading cultural forms. The prevelance of the refining tendencies sustained in several departments of culture over a long period will result in a level of aesthetic and intellectual achievement deservedly called a great tradition".

Answering the question whether the great tradition is undergoing a transformation in a metropolitan environment and whether it is a process of secularization, he says:—

"It would be inaccurate to apply the western concepts of secular urban mass culture and art's for art sake in interpreting these changes. There are indeed secularising tendencies, but they have not yet cut off urban culture from the traditional matrix of sacred culture. There is no sharp dividing line between religion and culture, and the traditional cultural media not only continue to survive in the city but have also been incorporated in novel ways into an emerging popular and classical culture". And finally after an examination of the phenomenon in Madras he concludes, "Many of the media or elements of them enter into the performances of more popular culture—*puranic* recitations, devotional plays, *bhajan*-s, since the difference between popular and classical culture rests not on a sharp difference in kind of media or theme but depends rather on the degree of sophistication and technical refinement and the balance among aesthetic, devotional and entertainment values that characterise the performance".

The views of an anthropologist who with great sensitivity takes into account aesthetic qualities have to be supplemented with the views of Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray from an art-historian's point of view. He cites many examples of the gradual chiselling and sophistication of many tribal and village forms in the field of sculpture, music and dance and arrives at the conclusion that "no objective historian of Indian art should necessarily follow the logical construct of social anthropologists and sociologists of Indian situation in

regard to their classification and categorisation of 'tribal' folk and 'civilized' or 'high' as mutually exclusive and distinctively separate categories. The differences are many and various, one must admit but they are not so much of kind, as of degree of chasteness and elegence, subtlety and sophistication, of complexity and comprehension of a higher level of technical knowledge and experience of vision and imagination. One may argue that these are all qualitative and hence operate towards making of art objects which are formally different which indeed they are aesthetically speaking. But the so called 'tribal' or 'folk' have also their own forms and aesthetic standards. They are not merely of magical ritualistic significance".

It will be obvious from these quotations that the matter of the levels of artistic expression viewed from completely divergent positions does fall into some sort of a pattern, where, although categories can be clearly discerned, there is a continuam. Indeed it would appear that what Milton Singer identified as the matrix of traditional sacred culture is a large module comprising both *mārgi* and *deśī* elements. The village-based traditional culture enters the city and metropolitan centres like Madras, and becomes either more sophisticated and refined in aesthetic terms or takes on another garb of popular city culture but still community-based as in the case of Harikathā, Bhajanas, etc., he cites as examples. In short, the *Mārgi* of village-culture could become the *deśī* of popular city-culture in artistic terms. Also one could analyse Milton Singer's statement about the 'secularisation' of the 'sacred culture' in other contexts, and may perhaps come to the conclusion that the 'traditional pattern' itself was an amalgam of the sacred and the secular. Sanskrit drama began with a ritual for propitiating the Gods and deities, but even in the prologue, transformed itself into a secular drama in the portions called '*Nāndī*' and *prarocanā*. In the context of the temple, while the '*devadāsī*' or the *mahari* danced inside the temple, there was always the 'man' dancer in women's garb in the temple court-yard, village square, who presented identical themes but with a slightly different purpose. Indeed a continuam between the two is evident, in most spheres of Indian art (notwithstanding Coomaraswamy and Singer's valuable point) the *mārgi* and the *deśi* cannot be equated simply to 'sacred' and mundane, because in a single 'performance' or a single piece of work both may be contained.

Dr. Ray's statement is an evaluative statement of aesthetical achievements and points at the pitfalls of easy equations in anthropological social terms. The anthropologist, however, sees little or no continuam between that he calls the tribal society and peasant society. Indeed in a closely argued paper, Surjit Sinha comes to the conclusion that there is very real distinction between the cultures of the tribals and those of Hindu peasantry, taken as a whole. He, however, conceded that the 'lowest castes' although primarily illiterate, are not completely free from the ethically loaded, purely moral

theology and the world view of literate upper caste Hindus, whose messages they receive through verbal communication of wandering sadhus and through cultural performances such as dance and drama. He finally is prepared to examine whether the lower Hindu castes are a special dimension of Hindu peasantry with a view to investigate whether the latter come nearer to the tribals or to the upper caste Hindus.

This last statement would perhaps come somewhat as a jolt for all those who have been investigating the artistic forms whether at the tribal or rural or urban level. While Coomaraswamy, Raghavan, Nihar Ranjan Ray and Milton Singer come close to each other in discussing a continuam and an inter-penetration of the tribal elements into high arts, Prof. Sinha's findings seem to imply that the 'ethically loaded' messages and thus perhaps the artistic manifestations in toto travel only from the high to the low in sociological terms.

All these view points, along with the theoretical discussion on *māgri* and *deśī* in the context of music, dance, literature and to an extent sculpture and painting will perhaps bear out the fact that although difficult and somewhat inexplicable through the yard-stick of material culture and technology, the Indian artistic situation at different levels of society can be understood as exclusive categories, but as the degree of chiselled sophistication and refinement and rigorous structuring which can be achieved at any given 'social-level' situation.

The analysis of both Dr. Raghavan and Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray bears out that they believe that the *deśī* or popular allows far greater freedom and a comparative absenee of rules and codifications. Implied in their analysis is an assumption that the chiselled, the sophisticated was also not rigorously but rigidly codified and that although it assimilated tribal and folk elements, it evolved an almost static position. Coomaraswamy alone amongst these scholars clearly sees the logic of the *mārga* in its initial meaning of a dug path, a high-way which is constantly on the move but in a particular direction with a specific purpose. It may perhaps be more appropriate to see what Coomaraswamy calls *deśī* or 'a by way' (in spite of the insights into the etymological roots Latin *locus* and *loka* which imply a specificity of a spatial situation) as the circumscribing or limiting of eternal universal paths into the mannerism and styles of a region or a 'given' time situation. Indeed from this point of view the two terms appear to connote not levels of society but only universalisation and specificity. This is certainly not what the terms 'classical' and 'folk' in common parlance denote. In their original meaning they stand for a running path or stream along a highway which flows into a 'region', a locality, acquires a specificity of distinctiveness, and then continues flowing in a definite direction. In the course of its journey it does receive the waters or pools, but its own course of movement does not lose direction. The cognisance of the possibility of the *mārgī* becoming *deśī* at any given

moment is inherent in the very nature of their relationship. If the one is celestial and the other terresterial in *śāstric* terminology, it only goes to prove that the aestheticians were taking over the frame of reference of vedic mythology in which the inter-dependence of the celestial and the terresterial is taken for granted. We must remember that the analogy of the celestial and the terresterial whether in Bharata or the later writers was highly contextual and was loaded with reference to the three fires of the ritual separate but all integral to the ritual. The celestial and the terresterial are thus not to be understood as high and low in modern sociological terms. We have to consider the celestial and terresterial also as the eternal and the temporal. Both were never considered exclusive, but interdependent. Just as God depends on Man and is the *Puruṣa* after the image of *puruṣa* so also the mundane and sacred are inter-connected and mutually dependent. Indeed, we may go further and suggest that in so far as this is concerned, the categories of the sacred and the profane are not exclusive categories, which even Coomarswamy and Eliade seem to suggest. They are clearly differentiated in time and space, but are not mutually opposed, indeed they are inter-dependent. The same space consecrated is sacred, and it is mundane profane at another time. Time too is both limited and profane on our level and consecrated, cosmic on another level.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the several texts of the *Vāstuśāstra* and *Śilpaśāstra* bear this out. The temple itself embodies both the sacred and profane aspects of life. The two are never in opposition. This is also borne out in the field of religion and social conduct by Baidyanatha Saraswati in his study on Kashi. After an analysis of a vast variety of reliable data, he concludes that the two are not polarities but two sides of the same coin.

From the above, it will be clear that Coomaraswamy's very valuable analysis of the root word *mṛg* and of *deśa* provides us with a significant criterion of differentiation of artistic levels. The 'runway' path, the directed flow of a river, over a period of time with possibility of future growth and development, along with over renewing chiselling refinement is characteristic of the first, the clearly defined contours, in limited space and time with the possibility of stagnation and annihilation while provide the milieu for distinctive growth are the characteristics of the other. These, however, are not equivalent to the categories of sacred and secular as suggested by Coomaraswamy. Dr. Sinha's hypothesis, in spite of sociological validity, is not borne out by an analysis of tribal, rural and sophisticated form of artistic creation. There is both a continuam and dialogue.

This puzzling zig saw of categories or of the co-existence of levels and of the interaction and inter-penetration of levels can be solved only if we look at the Indian cultural phenomenon as a continuous movement of sheathing and of over-layering without annihilations and obliteration of levels whether in anthropological or sociological or artistic terms,

An analogy for this phenomenon can be drawn from the sphere of astronomy. Each cultural region may be seen as a sphere with an inbuilt inner structure all of which revolves around a regional axis. One face of this sphere is naturally like a disc. The disc has levels. These levels are naturally made up of races—linguistic, social and caste classification. There is a continuous dialogue which takes place between these levels in a given region. Certain aspects of life style of the people are shared whether it is at the tribal level or at the highly ritualistic Brahamanical level. Each of these levels of the disc may be identified in terms of tribal, rural (*grāma*) and *nāgara.* A movement of communications takes place amongst these levels determined by the regional axis. Along side there is a second system of communication where particular levels interact with parallel levels in other spheres. The orbit is large comprising many regional areas, but there are micro-grouping and macro-grouping of contiguous areas. Thus there is a very clear connection between the artistic expressions of the tribals of Ganjam district, even the Juangs, the Paiks, the dances of Mayurabhanj Chhau, the dramatic techniques of the Jātrā players, the dance and acrobatic techniques of the Gotipuas, of the Akhārās and the Maharīs of the temples in Orissa. All these belong to different levels of society, but are held together by a regional style and channels of communication can be seen in paintings styles and architcture styles in these regions as also in Kerala. In Kerala we find the same continuing between the Theyattam, Theriyattam, Koodiyattam, Kathakali along with all the elements of commonality and universality amongs sophisticated forms of dance, such as Oḍissi, Bharatanāṭyam, Kathak, and Manipurī, belonging to different regions of India. What is true of the performing arts is equally true of the plastic arts. While there is a connection between the simplest huts and agricultural field patterns and great architecture within a region, as in Bengal or Tamil Nadu, there is a connection between the tribal arts of contiguous regions and between the sophisticated arts of different regions. This fact is borne out by a study of architectural style and sculptural modes in different parts of India.

Within this orbit, one can dtscern a clear movement of the rhythm of a flow of a river touching each sphere or region giving it a distinctiveness at different levels and to the region as a wbole and moving on with a uniform pace in time. The fixed centre which we had spoken of is still and changeless only in a very special sense of the adherence to certain principles remaining constant, invariable, but not in terms of an evolved form becoming static. The concepts of *śāstrācāra* and *deśācāra* or *lokācāra* and those of *mārgi* and *deśi* and finally of a *nāṭyadharmi* and *lokadharmi* fall into a pattern where the members of each pair are distinct but inter-connected and mutually dependent. The sociological situation and spatial environment shapes them and gives them a definite identity in specific periods, whether it is in the context of the evolution of the *deśi bhāṣā*-s or regional time-specific schools of architecture, sculpturc, painting or music and dance but these are inherently ephemeral, subject to change and flux. The chiselled sophistication which

emerges has a continuam of the river and its course is constant. The pools are formed; they dry up or become stagnant, but the river flows. Thus, while there is multiplicity of pools or pockets in space and time, there is the continuity of the flow of a river. This movement pattern has provided the rhythms continuity and change in artistic terms, whether it is at the tribal level where many changes are taking place in life style and artistic expression or at the urban level of a metropolitan city like Madras, where village and rural forms so to say are acquiring a different type of chiselling and sophistication, but are indeed not cut off so far as singer rightly suggests from their traditional matrix rooted, if we may suggest, in village culture. In short many things we term as 'classical' in the modern sense, belong not so much to the city culture, but are a renovated or restructured aspects of village culture. Contrarily many aspects of the high sophisticated culture of the past can be seen in forms which only in contemporary socio-economic terms belong to the tribal or the rural culture, we may call these survivals or continuities but they are certainly specimens of the highest artistic sophistication. These ranges from floor designs, paintings, terracotta work, music and dance performances.

The constant inter-changeability of the *Mārga* and the *Deśī* of the *Śāstrācāra* and *Deśācāra* makes it clear that neither at the theoretical level nor at the empirical level have these pairs been considered as absolute categories nor can these terms be equated to their English equivalents, viz. theory and experimentation or classical and folk.

We have thes to re-examine both the Indian tradition as also critical writing in the English language which has constantly categorised the Indian tradition into the textual and the oral, the highly Brahaminised, Sanskritised and the vernacular, the sophisticated, the literate and the illiterate and finally the classical and the folk. Our analysis will have shown that at no point within the tradition, were these seeming binary opposites rarely considered opposites. They were certainly differentiated categories but placed either into continuam or placed only as segments of a circle rather than a line. We could go on adding to the terminology and the conceptual models which have been used in English language for understanding the Indian traditions. A subsidiary pair such as *Nāṭyadharmī* and *Lokadharmī* have often been created to idealism and realism.

If all that we have considered above is even partially correct, then quite obviously the distinction which is being made between idealism and realism does not hold good when we consider the concept *Nāṭyadharmī* and *Lokadharmī*. The final extension of consideration of these pairs would be the religious and the secular, or for that matter, the sacred and the profane. This pair has been considered by practically every writer of religion, sociology, arts and the Indian tradition has been divided into these two categories. A closer look at the level of religious institutions or artistically manifestations makes it clear that while in the Indian context there was certainly the comprehension of the *Daivika* and

Laukika, the *Ādhyātamika* and the *Bhautika*, these cannot be equated to the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' or religious and secular, nor were they insular categories. Thus to call in India the '*Dhārmika*' and the '*Dharmanirapekṣa* is a total misnomer.

On could go on multiplying these pairs of binary opposites in all disciplines in the Indian traditions and the English equivalence both in terms of concepts and terminology a hundred-fold. Perhaps it is not necessary to do so but it is necessary to realise that the conceptual models so far available to the sociologists or the art historians need further investigation and perhaps a re-formulation.

All that has been said above can be demonstrated through the empirical data which regions like Manipur, Orissa and Kerala provide different levels of artistic manifestations as also religious practices can be seen in their living continuities. We can thus extend the terms *śāstra* and *prayoga, mārga* and *deśi* to spheres outside the arts and will probably be convinced that the tradition itself provided a conceptual model which can be profitably used in many spheres including that of religion.

SECTION VIII

Linguistics and Philology

SOME EUPHORBIA NAMES IN INDO-ARYAN

T. Burrow

In M. Mayrhofer's *Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary* Sanskrit *snuhī* 'Euphorbia antiquorum, spurge' and *snuh-*'id.' are registered, but considered to be of uncertain etymology. The root *snuh-'udgiraṇe'* (present *snuhyati*) is quoted from the *Dhātupāṭha,* but with a question-mark. The reason for this uncertainty is that this root is not found in use in the literature, or at any rate has not so far been recorded, and that some roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* which are not found elsewhere are of uncertain validity. In the case of this root, however, there is no such uncertainty, since, although it has not been qouted in literary use, it is quoted by Pāṇini in a *sūtra*[1], and it is a member in the *gaṇa radhādi* with which another *sūtra*[2] deals. It is a characteristic of this plant that it exudes an acrid milky juice (*snuhīkṣira-, Suśr.*), and as the meaning of the verb is to 'emit, expel, exude, etc. (fluid) the derivation of the name of the plant from the verb is transparent. The same semantic development is seen in the English word 'spurge', derived ultimately from the Latin verb *expurgare.*

In view of its meaning the root *snuh-*can hardly be separated from the simpler form of root *snu-*which also means 'to drip (liquid)', and the final *-h* must, therefore, be regarded as a root-extension. In this case the final *-h* is probably from *-dh,* since this root *snuh-* is to be compared with the Iranian root *snaud-* which appears in Av. *snaoδa-* 'cloud' and *snaoδant-* 'weeping'[3], as pointed out in Kratylos[4]

From this root is derived also *snūhan-* 'mucus of the nose',[5]. Beside this there is

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1. *Vā druha-muha-snuha-snihām* 8.2.23.
2. 7.2.45.
3. Yt. 19.80, Lommel's rendering.
4. 17.157. For further IE connections both of the extended and unextended root, see Pokorny, *IEW*, pp. 971-972.
5. *ĀpŚrS.* (Kratylos, 15.157),

also *snihan-* (*ŚBr.*) in the same sense, which is attached to the root *snih—* 'to be moist, sticky'. Of these two forms of the word *snihan* has usually been considered to be original, and *snūhan-* has been thought to be a modification of this due to the influence of the root *snu-* 'to drip liquid'[1]. Here the root *snuh-* has, as usual, been ignored, but when it is taken into account there seems no reason why the word *snūhan-* should not be directly derived from it (with secondary lengthening of the radical vowel, as in *snihan-*, *snihiti-*). At the same time it is hardly likely that there are two independent formations here, and since the meaning of the root *snuh-*is the more suitable, it is likely that *snūhan-* is the original form, for which *snihan-* was substituted at a time when the root *snuh-*was tending to become obsolete. In this case we may compare this word with certain Germanic words having the same meaning.[2]

Another name for this plant is *sehuṇḍa-*, beside which there is a variant *sihuṇḍa-*, and, an obviously artificial creation, *siṃhatuṇḍa-*. This word only appears very late in Sanskrit, but it is well represented in the modern Indo-Aryan *languages*: Hind. *sehuṛ*, *sihūṛ*, *sehuṇḍ*, *sehṇḍ*, etc[3]. It seems that the word was taken into Sanskrit from the popular language at a late period, but not used earlier because the standard Sanskrit word was *snuhi*. Its late appearance does not prevent it being an ancient word, since not infrequently it happens that genuine old Indo-Aryan words with IE etymologies only surface in a late period, in middle, or even modern Indo-Aryan. Such is the case with this word, as will be shown by what follows.

W. Caland, in two articles on the *Vādhūla sūtra*[4] drew attention to a word previously unrecorded which occurs in this text, namely *sebhu-* 'mucus of the nose, snot'. It occurs in the phrase *yadi sebhum kuryāt*, meaning, 'if he should clear snot (from his nose)'. In note 2 on p. 10 of the first article he also gave an indication of its etymology, by quoting a suggestion of Prof. van Wyk that it should be connected with Dutch *zever*. This suggestion was on the right lines, though it was not developed. A full list of the related Indo-European words can be found in Pokorny's *Indogermansches Etymolosisches Wörterbuch*[5] under the heading *seip- seib-*. The forms quoted are mainly Germanic OHG *seivar*, MHG. *seifer* 'spittle', MHG. *seifel* 'id.', etc.; OHG *sei(p)fa*, OE *sāpe* 'soap', but Lat. *sebum*' tallow, suet, grease and Toch. A. *sip- sep-* 'to anoint', *sepal* 'ointment' also

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1. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, 11.2, p. 179.
2. Pokorny, *loc. cit.*: *MHG. snuz* 'cold in the head, catarrh' OE *gesnott*, Eng. *snot*, etc.
3. Turner, *CDIAL*, no 13599.
4. *Ueber das Vādhūla-sūtra*, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 3-11; *Eine zweite Mitteilung uber das Vādhūla-sūtra*, *Acta Orientalia*, II, pp. 142-167.
5. P. 894.

belong here. There is variation in the final consonant of the root because this is an extension of a simpler root *sei-* to which Pokorny gives a cross reference. In view of the Sanskrit word an IE root-form *seibh.*is preferable to *seib-*. There is serious doubt about the existence of IE *b*, and it is not difficult to assume secondary loss of aspiration in the Germanic words for soap.

Since such a good and clear etymology is available from Indo-European, there is no need to follow Charpentier who attempted to explain the word *sebhu-* of the *sūtra* as a Middle Indo-Aryan development from Skt *śleṣman-*. It is in any case unlikely that such a development would be found in this old and authentic Vedic text. There is no doubt that Skt. *sebhu-*, preserved in this *sūtra,* is to be added to the above mentioned entry in the *Indo-European Comparative Dictionary.*

With this *sebhu-* K. Hoffmann[1] compared *sehu-*which occurs in AV[2] in the phrase *sehor arasatarāḥ.* The Petersburg dictionary gave as the meaning of this word "ein best. trockener Stoff" (a partic. dry substance MW), taking *arasa*—to mean 'having no liquid' 'from which it was assumed that *sehu-*, whatever it was, must have been something dry. This told us nothing about the meaning of the word. Hoffmann's suggestion that this *sehu-* is to be equated with *sebhu-* of the *Vādhūla-sūtra* is enlightening, but his account of the two forms is open to some doubt. He takes *sehu-* to be the original form and *sebhu-* to be a modification of this due to the influence of *sebha-*in the *Prayoga* taken as a Sanskritisation of Middle Indo-Aryan forms of Sanskrit *śleṣman-*. This is highly unlikely, since, as we have seen, Charpentier's explanation of *sebhu-*, *sebha-* as Middle Indo -Aryan is both unlikely and unnecessary in view of the existence of a good IE etymology. The two words can be united if we assume that we have here a weakening of *-bh-*to-*h-* such as is seen in classical *grah-* 'to seize' from Vedic *grabh-*. In this case the original form of the word is *sebhu-* and the developed form *sehu-*, a conclusion which is reinforced by the fact that it is the form *sebhu-*for which an IE etymology is available.

As regards the meaning of AV *sehu-* Hoffmann thinks it is 'spittle'. This could also of course have been the meaning of *sebhu-* in the *Vādhūla-sūtra-*, although the *Vyākhyā* paraphrases the word as *śiṅghānikā* which is the basis of Caland's rendering. As regards the meaning of *arasa-* in this connection, Hoffmann thinks it means 'powerless, without effect'. More likely here *arasa-* is a negative adjective used in a positive sense to denote the opposite, i. e. equal to *virasa*— 'distasteful',

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1. *MSS.*, 18.27.
2. 7,17,1,

Apart from the *Atharva-veda* the word *sehu-* occurs in *Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā*[1] in a list of bodily impurities. In L. von Schroeder's edition it appears in connection with *plīhā* 'spleen', but this is a conjecture of the editor. The manuscript reads *srīhā*, but this should be corrected not to *plīhā* but to *snīhā* (nom. sg. of *snihan-*). Since this latter word elsewhere means 'mucus of the nose, snot', it would seem that in this passage the word means 'spittle' rather than 'snot' which confirms the meaning given for *AV sehu-* by Hoffmann. This may also be the meaning of *VādhS. sebhu-* in spite of the evidence of the commentary to the contrary. On the other hand, since the word had originally the general meaning 'viscous or sticky fluid', it might equally well have been applied to both kinds of discharge.

In the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*[2] as edited by the Stenzler, there occurs a form *srehu-* : *mūtra-purīṣa-srehu-visraṃsanābhyavahāra-saṃyogeṣu ca.* He points out in his preface[3] that this is a minority reading, based on a Telugu manuscript. The vulgate reading, found for instance in the Ānandāśrama and Kāsi Sanskrit Series editions, is *sneha-*. Since this is obviously inappropriate, Stenzler was no doubt right in choosing the minority reading. Whether the correct reading be *srehu-*, or *sneha-*, the commentary gives the meaning as *retas-* 'semen'. Such a meaning would be possible, starting from a general meaning 'thick fluid', but it is rather doubtful whether the commentator can be relied on in this respect. The word *visraṃsana-* which follows would particularly suit the dislodgement of phlegm either from the nose or from the throat. If this *srehu-* goes with the above-mentioned *sehu-*, as seems likely, this is the kind of meaning which one would expect. The alternative theory that it goes with *srīhā-* of the *Kāṭhaka* is negatived by the fact that the latter should almost certainly be corrected to *snīhā*.

The intrusive *-r-* in *srehu-* causes some difficulty. It is possible of course that there has been some corruption of the reading during the transmission of the text. If not, then we must assume an isolated phonetic variation. Some cases of spontaneous insertion of *-r-* can be quoted, for instance Hindi *śrāp*, curse, as opposed to Sanskrit *śāpa-* In Dravidian the verbal base *cind-* 'to blow the nose' appears as such in most of the languages, but in Kui it becomes *srinda*. Whichever explanation is accepted, we may agree with Hoffmann that we have in this form a later modification of original *sehu-*.

This word *sehu-*, secondarily developed from *sebhu-* is also to be seen in *sehuṇḍa-* '*Euphorbia ligularia*'. In this word we have yet another instance of the spontaneous cerebralisation which I dealt with in *BSOAS*[4]. In a word of this form it is the only way in

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1. 34.12.
2. 1.44.
3. P. iv.
4. XXXIV (1971), pp. 538-559.

which the cerebrals can be accounted for, since none of the other means by which cerebrals come about can apply. The word is derived, therefore, from **sehunda-* and this can be analysed as *sehuṃ-da-* 'giving, i.e. producing, a sticky fluid'. The word must be ancient, even though only recorded late, since this kind of compound is characteristic of the old, Vedic language. It shows the more general meaning of the word, elsewhere specialised as nasal mucus or spittle, which is also shown by the IE cognates. Of the two forms of the word, *sehuṇḍa-* and *sihuṇḍa-*(both represented in NIA) the former is shown by this etymology to be the more original.

There is another name in Indo-Aryan from this tree (or rather group of trees) which has the same kind of semantic origin. This appears in Prakrit and in Hindi: Pkt. *thohara-*, *thoharī* 'Euphorbia tree', Hi. *thūhar*. Here the vowel-*o*- of the first syllable in the earlier Prakrit form is original. The -*ū*- in the Hindi word is probably due to the influence of *thūk* 'spit'. Pkt. *thohara-* is to be taken as a contraction of **thoahara-*, and this can be derived from **stokadhara-* 'holding drops', another descriptive name of the same kind as the preceding.

ON A RARE WORD IN PĀLI AND ITS DRAVIDIAN ETYMOLOGY

M. D'onza Chido & E. Panattoni

The compound *kuḍḍa-mukhī* is, for what we know, a *hapax legomenon* occurring only in the *Mahānāradakassapa-jātaka*[1] :

kena vā vikalaṃ tuyhaṃ khippaṃ abhiharantu te/
mano karassu kuḍḍamukhī api candasamamhi piti//

The commentary relating to the compound in question reads :

kuḍḍamukhīti sāsapakuḍḍena[2] *pasāditamukhatāya taṃ evaṃ āha, itthiyo hi mukhavaṇṇaṃ pasādentiyo duṭṭhalohitamukhadūsitapiḷa-kaharaṇatthaṃ paṭhamaṃ sāsapakakkena mukhaṃ vilimpanti tato lohitassa samakaraṇatthaṃ mattikākakkena tato chavipasādanatthaṃ tilakakkena.*[3]

The translation of the verses runs : "Is anything wanting to you ? Let them bring it forthwith,—ask what you will, impetuous one, even though it be as hard to get as the moon."[4] A footnote[5] gives notice of a gloss by Prof. Cowell, in which he compares *kuḍḍamukhī* with *caṇḍī*. No doubt this annotation helps to understand the unexpected interpretation "impetuous one", that seems to be quite unsuitable to the compound *kuḍḍamukhī*. Since we cannot find any other plausible explanation of Cowell's rendering, we may only suppose that he intended to read *kuḍḍa*-as *kuddha*-"angry", probably in connection with Rujā's feeling of reprobation towards her blameworthy father, king

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1. *Jā* VI.232.10*.
2. *v. l.* B[d] *sāsapakakkehi.*
3. *Jā* VI.232.20'-24'.
4. *The Jātaka*, VI, transl. by E. B. Cowell and W. H. D. Rouse, p. 118.
5. *Ibid.* n. 3.

Aṅgati.[1] In our opinion Cowell's translation is very singular and its connections with the context are not clear at all. There is no apparent reason why Cowell considered that it was necessary to assume a different reading for a word, the original meaning of which can be regarded as quite suitable to the context. The preceding verses[2] speak of Rujā as dressing up and adorning herself in view of her meeting with the king. From the weight of the evidences provided both by this passage and the commentary it seems that *kuḍḍa-* (or better *kuṭṭa*)[3] denotes some kind of powder used by women in making up their faces. That is to say *kuṭṭamukhī* should mean "having a powdered face". Hence the commentator is consistent in explaining the compound by *sāsapakuḍḍena pasāditamukhatāya* and in providing specific information about the various stages of women's make-up.

A similar kind of address to a woman can be found in *Ja* V. 302. 1* :

Tan nūna kakkūpanisevitaṃ mukhaṃ

where a meaning not far removed from *Ja* VI. 232.10* is provided. In this case too the verse is explained in the commentary by means of a detailed list of cosmetics.[4]

But this meaning is made quite certain by some other occurrences. Mention may be made of a couple of passages in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, where–*kuṭṭa* occurs in an analogous sense :

a. I. 205 ... *anujānāmi bhikkhave sāsapakuṭṭena*[5] *phositun ti.* Horner translates : "I allow you monks to sprinkle it with mustard powder."[6]
T. W. Rhys–Davids and H. Oldenberg : "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the sprinkling of a sore with mustard-powder."[7]
Buddhaghoṣa equates *sāsapakuṭṭa* to *sāsapapiṭṭha.*[8]

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1. The existence of the compound *Krodha-mukha*, mf(ī)n, in Sanskrit seems to corroborate this supposition.
2. *Jā* VI.230.26*-31*.
3. This spelling seems preferable, as our etymological re-examination will show. Hence, from now on, we will adopt this reading every time the word occurs in our treatment of the subject.
4. *Jā* V.302.28'-29'.
5. *Vv. l l. AC °kuttena, B °kuṇḍdea, D °kuḍḍena.* As far as the word *sāsapa* is concerned, we call attention to the well-known problem of its etymology. This word too, according to many scholars, is not to be considered as Indo-Aryan: both Pāli *sāsapa* and Skt. *sarṣapa* are better to be regarded as inherited from Austro-Asiatic. Old Tamil *aiyavi* (<**sasavi*) is an independent loan from the same languages. Cf. T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies VI*, in "*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (*BSOAS*), XII.1, 1947, pp. 133-134.
6. *The Book of the Discipline*, IV, p. 279.
7. *Vinaya Texts*, II, p. 58.
8. *VA* 1092.

b. II. 151 ...*anujānāmi bhikkhave sāsapakuḍḍam sitthatelakan ti.*
Horner translates : "I allow, monks, mustard-powder, oil of beeswax."[1] T. W. Rhys-Davids and H. Oldenberg: "I allow you, O Bhikkhus, the use of a paste made of mustard-seed, and of oil of beeswax."[2]

Here also Buddhaghoṣa explains : *sasapa-kuṭṭan ti sāsapa-piṭṭhaṃ.*

From the passages quoted above a rather definite idea of–*kuṭṭa*–can be obtained. In fact its occurrences involve only the quite usual meaning "powder" and exclude any other particular interpretation ; it seems moreover difficult to keep distinct the notion of *sāsapa* from –*kuṭṭa*–, as it appears also in the scholast's commentary to the above mentioned *Jātaka.*

Now the question arises about the exact root the word is connected with. Let us consider the etymology suggested by the *Pāli-English Dictionary* (*PED*) : it connects–*kuṭṭa*–with *koṭṭeti,* root *kuṭ*, "to crush", which is explained by the *Dhātupāṭha*[3] and *Dhātumañjūṣā*[4] together with *koṭṭ* by *chedana* "cutting" ; it is there taken together with *kuṭṭ* of *kūṭa* "trap", explained as *koṭilla* "crookedness"[5].

The origin of–*kuṭṭa*–and *koṭṭeti* is, no doubt, to be sought in the roots *kuṭ* and *koṭṭ* in the meaning "to beat, smash, crush, pound". Nevertheless, *PED*'s explanation is far from being satisfactory, because the well-known Dravidian derivation of both roots[6] seems to have escaped the attention of the *Pāli Dictionary.* Comparing the meanings of the Pāli forms and of the Dravidian roots proposed as their etymology, it is clear that Pāli has developed a secondary and specialized meaning "powder" from the more general and original one "to pound" preserved in the Dravidian languages.

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1. *The Book of the Discipline,* V, p. 212 and n. 5: according to the translator -*kuḍḍa* should read -*kuṭṭa*
2. *Vinaya Texts,* III, p. 71 and n. 2: -*kuḍḍa* should read -*kuṭṭa* according to Buddhaghoṣa and the previous passage.
3. 90.555
4. 115.781
5. See *PED, kuṭṭa*[1] and *koṭṭeti.*
6. See F. Kittel, *A Kannada-English Dictionary,* Mangalore 1894, p. XXXIX, No. 361; H. Gundert, *Die dravidischen Elemente in Sanskrit,* in "*Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*", XXIII, 1869, p. 521; T. Burrow, *Loanwords in Sanskrit,* in "*Transactions of the Philological Society*", (*TPS*) 1946, p. 8, T. Burrow, *Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit,* in *TPS,* 1945, p. 93; T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies III,* in *BSOAS,* XI, 1943-46, p. 134; J. Bloch, *Indo-Aryan and Dravidian,* in *BSO(A)S,* V, 1929, p. 738; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen,* Band 1, Heidelberg 1956, pp. 223ff.

A comparative study of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Dravidian vocabularies reveals that many words in this semantic area are—apart from the usual phonetic modifications—almost identical both in form and meaning. The following lists contain Pāli and Sanskrit words which deserve consideration in this respect; their identity with some Dravidian forms is, as we shall see, striking and unquestionable.

PĀLI : *Kūṭa* "hammer", *Kūḍa* "stone-hammer", *koṭṭana* "grinding, crushing", *koṭṭima* "pounded floor", *koṭṭeti* "to beat, smash, pound" and *ā-koṭeti* "to beat, pound, stamp".

SANSKRIT: *kuṭ*, *kuṭyati* "to break to pieces, break asunder, divide, split", *kuṭṭ*, *kuṭṭayati* "to crush, bruise, pound, grind, paw (the ground)", *kuṭṭa* "breaking, grinding", *kuṭṭaka* "cutting, breaking, bruising, grinding", *kuṭṭana* "cutting, pounding, etc." and also "a kind of spear", *kuṭṭanī*, *kuṭṭinī* "a kind of spear", *kuṭṭantī*[1] "a kind of dagger", *kuṭṭāka* "cutting, breaking, splitting", *kuṭṭita* "bruised, pounded", *kuṭṭin* "cutting, pounding", *kuṭṭima* "plastered or inlaid with small stones or with mosaic, pavement, pounded floor", *kūṭa* "hammer[2], iron mallet", *kuṭha-ṭaṅkā* "axe", *kuṭhāra*, *kuṭāra*[3] "axe, hoe, spade", *kuṭhāraka* "small axe", *kuṭhārika* "a wood cutter", *kuṭhārikā* "small axe", *kuddāla* "spade".

In the lists which now follow the corresponding Dravidian words are, as previously remarked, very close in form and meaning.

TAMIL : *kuṭṭu* (*kuṭṭi-*) "to cuff, strike with the knuckles or the fist on the head or temples", *kuṭṭu* "blow with the knuckles or the fist on the head, cuff", *kuṭṭi* "blow", *kuṭṭimam* "paved floor, pavement, ground paved with mosaic, ground smoothed and plastered", *kuṭṭanam* "breaking, dividing, bruising", *kuṭāram* "axe, hatchet", *kuṭāri* "axe", *kūṭam* "blacksmith's sledge hammer", *koṭṭu* (*koṭṭi-*) "to beat (as a drum), hammer, beat (as a brazier), clap, strike with the palms, pound (as paddy), besmear (as sandal or other fragrant paste)"[4], *koṭṭu* "beat, stroke, drumbeat, time-measure, hoe with whort handle, weeding-hoe, spade", *koṭṭaṇam* "pounding or husking paddy", *koṭṭān koṭṭuvān* "mallet", *koṭṭāppiṭi*, *koṭṭuppiṭi*, *koṭtāmpiḷi* "mallet, wooden mallet, beater", *koṭṭi* "time-

1. For this word in particular see F. Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIII, No. 260.
2. In modern Indo-Aryan, apart from Singhalese *kuḷ* "hammer", this word is preserved only in forms which represent an original compound **hasta-kūṭa*. See T. Burrow, *Some Dravidian Words* .., p. 93.
3. For this word in particular see T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies VII*, in *BSOAS*, XII.2, 1948, p. 373.
4. See *Tamil Lexicon*, sub voce *koṭṭu*[1].

measure", *koṭu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) "to thrash, abuse roundly", *koṭai* "blows, round abuse", *koṭāri*, *koṭāli* "axe".

MALAYĀLAM : *kuṭṭuka* "to pound, cuff", *kuṭṭu* "knock, fisticuff, blow, beat of drums", *kuṭṭanam* "hammering, pounding", *kuṭṭimam* "pavement", *kūṭam* "heavy hammer", *koṭukka* "to flog", *koṭṭuka* "to beat, so as to produce a sound (as drum; metals, bells), clap hands", *koṭṭu* "beating a drum, clapping hands, buffet, knocking of knees against each other", *koṭṭuvaṭi* "beater, mallet", *koṭṭi* "mallt", *koṭṭaṇam* "beating the husk from paddy in a slovenly manner", *koṭāli*, *koṭāli* "axe, hatchet", *kuṭhāram* "axe".

KANNAḌA : *kuṭṭu* "to beat, strike, pound, bruise", *kuṭṭu* (n.) "blow" and, as a parallel instance of the Pāli development of meaning, "pulverized substance", *kuṭṭuvike*, *kuṭṭuha* "beating etc.", *koḍati*, *koḍanti* "wooden hammer". *koḍali* "axe", *kottaṇa* "beating the husk from paddy", *kuḍu* "to beat".

TELUGU : *koṭṭu* "to beat, strike, knock", *koṭṭu* (n.) "blow, stroke", *goḍḍali*, *goḍḍeli*, *goḍḍelu*. *goḍali* "axe".

TOḌA : *kuṭ-* (*kuṭy-*) "to knock, pound", *kwiṭk-* (*kwiṭky-*) "to tap (on door, something with stick)".

KOṬA : *kuṭ-* (*kuc-*) "to pound", *koṭk-* (*koṭky-*) "to strike (with small hammer), knock on (door), strike tipcat in hole in ground".

KOḌAGU : *kuṭṭ-* (*kuṭṭi-*) "to pound", *koṭṭ-* (*koṭṭi-*) "to tap, beat (drum)".

TULU : *kuṭṭuni* "to thump, give a blow, strike with the fist, pound, bruise", *kuṭṭu* "blow given with the fist", *koḍapuni* "to forge, hammer". *koḍapāvuni* "to weld, forge together", *koḍari*, *kuḍari* "axe" *koṭṭu*, *koṭre* "spade" *korpini* "to beat".

KŌLĀMĪ : *kuḍk-* (*kuḍukt-*) "to pound (grain)", *golli*, *goli* "axe".

NAIKI : *kuṛk-* "to pound, knock", *ghoḷi*, *koḍli* "axe".

PARJI : *kuṭip-*(*kuṭit-*) "to punch, knock (door)", *kuṭṭ-* "to strike foot aganist stone", *koṭṭ-* "to strike with axe", *koṭal* "hoe, spade".

KUI : *krāḍi* (*kṛāḍi* ?) "axe", koḍi "hoe".

KUVI : *kṛa'li*, *gla'li* "axe", *koṛgi*, *kūrgi*, *korgi* "hoe".

GADBA (OLLARI) : *koṭ-* "to strike with axe", *koṭal* "hoe, spade".

GOṆḌĪ : *kohkānā* "to pound, tattoo, butt", *koṭ-* "to strike with horn", *koṭṭ-* "to hoe", *goṭṭānū* "to poke or thrust at with stick or finger", *goḍel* "axe", koṭela" mallet, drumstick",

PENGO : *kūṛel* "axe", *koḍgi* "hoe".

KURUKH : *khoṭṭnā* (*khuṭṭyas*) "to break, smash, pierce, break open", *khoṭṛnā* "to be broken".

MALTO : *qote* "to break; knock, strike", *qotre* "to be broken", *qoṭure* "to knock or dash against"; *koḍe* "to dig out".[1]

The forms given above[2] are to be regarded not as Sanskrit words borrowed into

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1. Brāhūī *kuṭṭing* "to pound", *kuṭṭa* "bruised" and Malto *kuṭye* "to nail; to drive in a peg" are derived—as frequently happens in these languages—from the IA words mentioned above, which themselves go back to Dravidian. See T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies III*, p. 139.

2. In dealing with these terms attention should also be drawn to other series of words in Dravidian having the same meaning and similar forms: Ta. *kuru* (*kuruv-, kurr-*) "to pound in a mortar, husk", *kurru* (*kurri-*) "to pound, strike, hit, crush"; Ko. *kur-* (*kut-*) "to pound (clay)"; Go. *kurkal* "stone pestle".

Ta. *kuttu* (*kutti-*) "to strike with the fist, cuff, pound (as in a mortar), peck, afflict, injure", *kuttu* (n.) "blow with the fist, cuff, pounding (as in a mortar)", *kuttal* "hitting"; Ma. *kuttuka* "to cuff, beat in a mortar", *kuttu* "blow"; Ko. *kut* "blow with fist", *gud-* (*gudy-*) "to strike with fist, nudge with elbow", *gud* "fist, blow with fist, nudge, distance from elbow to knuckles"; To. *kud-* (*kudy-*) "to hit with fist, box", kud "fist"; Ka. *kuttu* "to beat, strike, bruise", *kuttu* (n.) "beating, etc., a stroke", *kuttuge* "act of striking or state of being struck", *kuttuṅguḷi* "person engaged in beating", *guddu, gurdu,* "to strike with the fist cuff, box, beat in a mortar, pound", *guddu* (n.) "blow with the fist", *gudduvike* "pounding", *guddarisu* "to cuff, push", *gudige* "a club, bludgeon"; Koḍ. *gudd-* (*guddi-*) "to pound with fist", *kutt-* (*kutti-*) "to thrust with fist"; Tu. *gudduni* "to box, cuff, beat", *guddu* "blow, cuff", *gudugè* "club, cudgel"; Te. *g(r)uddu* "to give a blow with the fist", *g(r)uddu* (n.) "blow with the fist", *gudiya,* gude "club, cudgel"; Malt. *gutye* "to give a blow with the fist"; Go. *khuddhā* "blow, push, knock". Cf. *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (*DED*), No. 1536a, b, and *Suppl*. In this connection, we may mention also the following words from the same root: Ta. *kuntāli, kuntāḷi* "pickaxe"; Ma. *kūntāli* id.; Ko. *kudāy* "hoe"; Ka. *guddali, gudli* "a kind of pickaxe, hoe'; Koḍ. *guddali* "hoe with spade-like blade"; Tu. *guddali, guddoli* 'a kind of pickaxe"; Te. *guddali, guddili, guddelu, guddēli, guddēlu* "hoe", *guddalincu* "to hoe"; Malt. *qodali* "spade"; Nk. *kuduḷ* "spade"; Go. *kudaṛ* "spade, axe", *guddaṛ* "spade, hoe", *goodar* "hoe"; Konḍa *gudeḷi* "hoe-like instrument for digging". Cf. *DED* No. 1432 and *Suppl*. Sanskrit and Pāli have borrowed from them respectively *kuddāla, kuddālaka, kuddāra, kunta* and *kuddāla, kuddālaka* in the same meanings. Cf. T. Burrow, *Dravidian Studies VII...*, p. 374, and *Dravidian Studies III..*, p. 134; F. Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. XXXIII, No. 266; H. Gundert, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

Ta. *kottu* (*kotti-*) "to grub up, hoe, chop, hack, mince, carve", *kottu* (n.) "grubbing, mincing, small hoe for rooting out weeds", *kontu* (*kontu-*) "to mince"; Ma. *kottuka* "to dig, carve, strike, cut", *kottu* "digging", *kotti* "pickaxe, stone-digger, carver"; Te. *kondu* "to mince, cut or chop into small pieces"; Ko. *kot-* (*koty-*) "to hook (small stick) in playing tipcat"; Ka. *kottu* "to chop, mince"; Kur. *khotnā, khosnā* (*khottas*) "to cut by striking, slash, inflict a gash, wound by a blow from any heavy and sharp-edged instrument, decapitate"; Konḍa *kot-* (*-t-*)

Dravidian, but as Dravidian words adopted by Sanskrit; this is unquestionable, as Pāli and Sanskrit terms have not a reliable Indo-Aryan etymology, while there is a wide currency of parallel forms in the Dravidian languages. Moreover, the root of the words in question has more extensive series of derivatives in Dravidian than are to be found in Sanskrit and Pāli.

Turning again to Pāli *kuṭṭamukhī* and *sāsapakuṭṭa*, as the exact meaning of the compounds is now precisely settled, their assumption by Turner[1] and the ***Pāli Tipitakam Concordance***[2] behind *kuṭṭa* (or *kuḍḍa*) in the meaning "wall" is obviously not at all correct : in fact this connection offends too much against semantics to carry conviction. This being the case, the etymology of *-kuṭṭa-* "powder" should be kept separated from

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"to hammer, hit hard on the top"; Kui. *kospa* (*kost-* "to beat, strike with stick or mallet", *kospa* (n.) "beating"; Kuvi. *kot-*) (*-h-*) "to dig (with hoe)", *kōthali* "to hoe", *kothnai* "to pick (with pickaxe)"; Kur. *kotgā* "hunting bludgeon"; Malt. *kothke* "to peck or strike with the beak, sear with a hot iron". Cf. *DED* No. 1740 and *Suppl.*

Ta. *kori*, Ma. *korikka*, Ka. *koruku, koraku, kuruku, kuruṅku*, Koḍ. *kori-*, Te. *koruku*, Kol. *kork-*, Nk. *kork-*, Go. *kork-, kohk-, korkānā*, Konḍa *konk-* (cf. *DED* No. 1798 and *Suppl.*) present only the meanings "to nip off the husks of grains, nibble grain, pick up food, bite, sting", which are a secondary semantic developments attested also in all the series previously listed (Cf. *DED* Nos. 1392, 1397, 1429, 1718, 1740).

A consideration of all the Dravidian series till now mentioned shows that they present an almost identical meaning and rather slight phonetic variations. The various forms point to an alternation *-ṭṭ-/-rr-/-tt-* on the part of the consonant group. The same or very similar alternation (*-ṭ-r-/-t-*) can be seen also in other series of words, joined by a common meaning (Cf. *DED* Nos. 821 a, b, 804, 809; 2327 a, b, 2239; 2183, 2214, 2237; 4270, 4286, 4355, 4377). In view of these phonetic and semantic correspondences, all the series in question could be regarded as etymologically connected.

A fluctuation of the initial consonant *k-* can be seen in the following list of words:

Ta. *cutti, cuttiyal* "small hammer"; Ma. *cutti, cuttika, tutti* "hammer"; Ka. *suttige* id.; Tu. *sutti, suttigè, suttiyè, suttè, suttyè* id.; Te. *sutte* id.: Go. *sutte* id.; Kuvi *suthi* id. (Cf. *DED* No. 2197 and *Suppl.*) Ta. *coṭṭu* (*coṭṭi-*) "to strike with knuckles, tip gently, beat, hit", *coṭṭu* (n.) "cuff, knock on the head"; Ma. *coṭṭu* "slap on the head", *coṭṭuka* "to rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers", *coṭṭikka* to beat"; Tu. *sonṭuni* "to box with the knuckles of the fingers" (Cf. *DED* No. 2325 and *Suppl.*).

This aspect of the matter is only touched on briefly here; it is hoped to deal with the question exhaustively in a later article.

1. R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966, No. 3237.
2. *PTC*, VIII, *sub voce kuḍḍa.*

the etymology of *kuṭṭa* "wall"[1], and, for the same reason, from *kuṭ* of *kūṭa* "trap" explained as *koṭilla*, as proposed by *PED*[2].

In conclusion, our explanation of *-kuṭṭa-* entails that its ultimate origin is to be sought in the Dravidian languages; as far as the meaning of the *hapax legomenon kuḍḍamukhī* is concerned, the likeliest rendering seems us to be "with a powdered face", as previously suggested.

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1. On *kutta* "wall" and cognate words see our *Kuṭṭa-rājan and allied terms: a set of Dravidian loanwords in Pāli*, to be published in "*Indologica Taurinensia*", VII, 1979.
2. See p. 813 and no. 3.

A VEDIC VERB IN PĀLI : UDĀJITA

Oskar v. Hinueber

The *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (*CPD*)[1], a mile-stone in middle-Indic lexicography and a model dictionary for any other Indian language, quotes a rather long list of various readings under the heading ***uducita*** : ***udu(j)jita***, ***udajjita***, ***udājita***, ***uduta***, ***udupatacitta***, ***uddhata***, ***ujujāta*** from one passage of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* and the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga* respectively. Of these readings, to which ***urūjita***, *Paṭis-a* (Be) overlooked by the *CPD* may be added, no interpretation going beyond the statement "corrupt passage" is offered by the dictionary.

Trying to disentangle this collection of strangely looking words, it seems convenient to start from the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, which is the older one of both the texts. The wording is quoted here as preserved in the Siṃhalese manuscripts : *evam eva... yato bhikkhuno chasu phassāyatanesu cittam ujujātaṃ hoti saṃmujujātaṃ ajjhattam eva santiṭṭhati*[2]. This sentence brings to an end comparison : Just as a zealous watcher of the corn drives away a cow from crops to protect them, thus a monk keeps his mind away from the objects of sensual pleasure. Here, ***ujujātam*** "simple minded" very clearly does not fit into the context. A look at the Burmese tradition of this passage reading ***udujitam/ sudujitam*** rouses the suspicion that ***ujujātam*** of the Siṃhalese manuscripts might owe its existence to a not very successful attempt to correct an unintelligible or corrupt word by connecting it to ***ujujātika***[3] "simple-minded".

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1. V. Trenckner : *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen. Vol. I : *a*. 1924-1948; Vol. II.1-10 : *ā-uparima*. 1960-1979. The abbreviations used here follow the system laid down in the "Epilegomena" to the *CPD*. On this dictionary cf. my article: "Bemerkungen zum *Critical Pāli Dictionary*". Zeitschrift für Vergeleichende Sprach-Forschung (KZ) 84. 1970. 177-186 and "Bemerkungen II" (forthcoming in the same Journal).
2. *S*. IV.196.21-23.
3. *D*. III.55.16 etc.

At a first glance the commentary on the *Saṃyuttanikāya* seems to create a still more confusing situation : *udajjitan ti tajjitaṃ. sudajjitan ti sutajjitaṃ, samuttajjitaṃ jātaṃ, sikkhitan ti pi attho.*[1] Here it is noteworthy that the second *pratika*, *sudajjitaṃ*, does not concur with either tradition of the *mūla*-text. According to the wording preserved in the Siṃhalese manuscripts of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, there should be a *pratika* beginning with *sam*— at any rate, what would agree with *samuttajjitaṃ* of the commentary as well.

As *uducitaṃ cittaṃ samuducitaṃ*[2] (quoted from Be 162, 11, which gives a better text here than Ee) evidently is derived from S. IV. 196 quoted above, the first part of the second word corrupted certainly is *sam*—. The commentary on the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga* furnishes us with further variants. It begins the explanation with : *uducitaṃ cittaṃ samuducitan*[3] *ti upacārabhūmiyaṃ cittaṃ uddhaṃ citaṃ sammā uddhaṃ citaṃ*[4]. The interpretation *uddhaṃ citaṃ* points to an original reading *udācita* or even *uddhācita* in the *pratika*, a reflection of which may be found in *uddhataṃ cittaṃ*[5] which probably is a corruption of *uddhācitaṃ*. *Paṭis*-a further quotes the variants (*sam*) *udujita* and *udājitaṃ cittaṃ samudājitaṃ* referring to the commentary on the *Saṃyuttanikāya* : *vīṇopamaṭṭhakathāya tajjitaṃ sutajjitan ti ca attho vutto, so idha na yujjati.*[6] "in the commentary on the *vīṇopama*-section (of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, i. e. S. IV. 195. 14-198, 2) the meaning is said to be 'scared, scared very much', this does not apply here (i. e. in *Paṭis*)". Thus besides the reading preferred by *Paṭis*-a *uddhācita* developed from *udācita*, which was unintelligible at least to the commentator, there are *udujita* and *udājita* attested to be old variants in the text tradition of the *Paṭisaṃbhidāmagga*. As *udājita* was taken over from the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, we are now in the position to infer the original wording as *cittam udājitaṃ hoti samudājitam*[7], "the mind was scared (away), well scared (away)", *udājita* being the past participle to **udājeti*. Thus the commentator seems to have been well aware of the correct interpretation, when he gave *tajjita* as equivalent to *udājita* and *sutajjita* for *samudājita*, unless he inferred these meanings of (*sam*) *udājita* from the context in the *Saṃyuttanikāya*. In equating *udājita* with *tajjita*, which, however, left the commentator with a "*u nipāta mattaṃ*, he could refer to the rather frequent vacillation between *ta* and *da* in the Mahāvihāra-tradition, which

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1. *Spk.* III.66.8f.
2. *Paṭis.* I.162.25.
3. The reading of the pratika follows Be, as Ee *udutaṃ cittaṃ samuducittaṃ* is corrupt. That the commentary knew only *cita*, not *citta* is certain from the explanation as paricaya, *Paṭis-a* 469.10.
4. *Paṭis-a.* 469.of.
5. *Paṭis.* I.162.25 in Le.
6. *Paṭis-a.* 469.17-19.
7. *S.* IV.196.23.

paved the way for quite a few "etymologies" in the *Aṭṭhakathā*[1]. The explanation given for *samudājita* : *sutajjita* reacted on the *pratika*, a phenomenon met with occasionally in the *Sāratthappakāsinī*[2]. Thus *sudajjita* came into being, perhaps favoured by a mistake of a scribe leaving out the *Akṣara mu* (?). On the other hand, the origin of *udujita* and *sudujita*, the latter appearing for the first time, as far as we can see today, within the tradition of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* as *sudujitan ti nibbisevanabhāvakaraṇena jitaṃ*.[3] from the 12th Century A.D. onwards, remains obscure. It is proved to be old by the quotation of this variant in *Paṭis*-a. Later, perhaps even after the writing of *Spk-pṭ*, *udujita* was adopted as the correct reading in the Burmese tradition and introduced everywhere with the usual strictness of traditional Burmese philologists. Even the commentary on the *Saṃyuttanikāya* was re-written at an uncertain date, but perhaps as late as on the occasion of the 5th or 6th council, as *sudujitan ti sutajjitaṃ sujitan ti pi attho*[4] against the wording as quoted above.

The reason, why this passage fell into corruption at all, almost certainly was the comparative rareness of the verb *ajati* in Pāli. This Vedic verb, dying out rapidly during the Brāhmaṇa period as evinced by the *Vaidikapadānukramakoṣa*, survives in canonical Pāli only as *samhā raṭṭhā nirajjati*,[5] "he is driven out of his kingdom", cf. *samhā raṭṭhā nirajj' ahaṃ*,[6], and *gopālo gāvaṃ pājeti gocaraṃ*[7], where *pāceti* is commonly read under the

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1. H. Smith : En marge du vocabulaire sanskrit des bouddhistes. III. *Orientalia Suecana* 4.1955. 109-113, esp. 113, cf. *CPD* s. vv. *ajjata* and *abhiruda*, where references are given to further examples. On the other hand, K. R. Norman: Elders' Verses I. London 1969 on verse 49 *abhiruda* refers to H. Lueders : Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons. Berlin 1954 § 98, where words showing *-d-* are explained as traces of the Eastern dialect underlying Pāli. This line is followed by *CPD* II.s. vv. *Upadissa* and *upapāta*. Probably this vacillation between *ta* and *da* is not always as old as Lueders thought. As the complete material on this question has never been collected, and as the important paragraph in the *Samantapāsādikā* (*Sp.* 1399, 12-1400,35) warning of a mispronunciation *t/d* and *c/j* seems to have escaped the notice of most scholars tackling this problem, the whole question needs further investigation. It should also be kept in mind that the *t/d* and *c/j* vacillations might well be very distant echos of the Paiśācī orthography, which has been treated by myself in a forthcoming article : Die Paiśācī und die Entstehung der sakischen Orthographie (to be puclished in the *Alsdorf Memorial Volume*).
2. Further examples: O. v. Hinueber: Pāli *kathita*. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 21.1976.21-26, esp. 21 and O. v. Hinueber: On the tradition of Pāli texts in India, Ceylon and Burma. In : *Buddhism in Ceylon* and *Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries* ed. by H. Bechert. Goettingen 1978. 48-57, esp. 56.
3. *Spk-pṭ* (Be) II.346.7.
4. *Ibid.* III.66.8f.=Be III.107.21.
5. *Ja.* VI 502.34+=503.23*.
6. *Ja.* VI.505.17*. The reading *nirajji 'ham*, *Thī* 93 is doubtful : K. R. Norman : Elders' Verses II. London 1971 on this verse.
7. *Dhp.* 135b. The reading *gāvaṃ* instead of *gāvo* derived from **gāve* is suggested by H. Smith, *Saddanīti*. Index s. v. 2*pāceti*,

influence of *āyuṃ pācenti.*[1]. Here the evidence of *gopālo gāḥ prāpayati* and *āyuḥ prāpayate*[2], seems to point to an old misunderstanding of *pāyedi* dating back to the time, when this verse was recast into Pāli from the Eastern language, rather than to the not uncommon vacillation between *ca* and *ja* in the *Mahāvihāra-* tradition[3]. The reading *udācita* in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, on the other hand, certainly belongs to those words showing a fluctuation between *ca* and *ja.*

In contrast to these four references of the verb *aj* in canonical Pāli, there seems to be what may be called a "revival" of the use of this verb especially in the *Jātaka* prose : *yānakam pājento/ pājāpento/ pājehi*[4]; *sakaṭāni pājāpento*[5]; *goṇe pājesum*[6]. As these phrases may have been drawn from the language of coachmen and kettle keepers[7], just as the Vedic verb *aj* belongs to this language, the use of *pājeti*[8] here may be due to the fact that in the *Jātaka* stories this everyday language was raised to the level of literature for the first time rather than a "revival" of this word[9].

After reviewing a passage seemingly corrupted beyond repair, *udājita* and *samudājita* could be established as the very simple original readings. At the same time *ud-aj* (**udājeti*) was added to the scanty evidence of the root *aj*, hitherto limited in Pāli to *nir-aj* and *pra-aj,* thus further connecting it with the language of the Veda.

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1. *Dhp.* 135d.
2. *Udānavarga.* I.17.
3. Lueders: Beobachtunge § 140 and above note 3. Further examples: for *c/j* : *CPD* s. v. Aciravatī, *prijitā ti vattabbe jakārassa cakāraṃ katvā parijitā ti vuttaṃ, Paṭis-a* 481.33ff; *pājeti tenā ti wājanaṃ taṃ idha pācanan ti vuccati, Pj.* II.147.11 in explaining *phālapācanaṃ.*
4. *Ja.* II.122.5=143.10=*Dph-a.* I.278.1; *Ja.* III.51.1; *Dhp-a.* I.302.16.
5. *Ja.* II.296.3.
6. *Dhp-a.* IV.160.9.
7. Only *pāsake pājehi, pājetha, Ja.* VI.281.15.16 and *nāvaṃ pājetvā,* Ja V.443.31 do not fit into this picture.
8. In the *Jātaka* the Burmese tradition mostly has *pāc-* instead of *pāj-*, what is to be judged along the lines given in the *CPD* s. v. *ājava.*
9. Derivations of *aj* survive nearly exclusively in Siṃhalese: R. L. Turner ; *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.* London 1966 s. v. *aj,*

भारतीयं भाषा-विज्ञानम्

युधिष्ठिरो मीमांसकः

इदं तावद् विचार्यते—किमिदं भाषाविज्ञानमिति । तत्रापि का भाषा, किं च तस्या विज्ञानम्, किं च तदीयं भारतीयं स्वरूपम् । तत्र तावत् भाषापदमेव विचार्यम् । भाषाशब्दो वैयाकरणैः 'भाषव्यक्तायां वाचि' इत्यस्माद् धातोर्व्युत्पाद्यते । तेन भाष्यतेऽर्थजातं परस्मै बोध्यतेऽनया सा भाषा । तत्र व्यक्तवाक्त्वस्य धात्वर्थान्तर्वृत्तत्वाद् भाषापदेन स्फुटवर्णध्वनिरेव गृह्यते न ध्वनिमात्रम् । तथा सति इङ्गितचेष्टितादीनां तु कथाऽपि दूरेऽपास्ता । सा च व्यक्ता वाक् मनुष्याणामेव । तस्याश्च भाषायाःपदान्येव मूलम् । पदान्येव संहत्य वाक्यं जनयन्ति । वाक्यान्येव संहत्य सन्दर्भम् । अत एव व्याकरणेन पदसंस्कार एव विधीयते । निरुक्तेन च पदानामेवार्थो निरुच्यते । तेषां च व्याकरणबोधितसंस्काराणां निरुक्तोपलक्षितार्थनिर्वचनानां पदानां वाग्व्यवहारकाले यथेष्टं सम्बन्धो भवति । तदुक्तं खलु भगवता पतञ्जलिना[1]— पदानामार्थैः सह सम्बन्धः स्वाभाविको वाऽस्तु साङ्केतिको वा । उभयथाऽपि पदानामर्थैः सहात्यन्तिकः सम्बन्धः सर्वैरेवोररीक्रियते । अतो भाषाविज्ञाने पदपदार्थयोरुभयोरपि समानरूपेण विचारः क्रियते ।

विज्ञानं नाम कस्यचिदपि विषयस्य विशिष्टं ज्ञानमुच्यते । तच्चैकस्यापि विषयस्य विषयान्तरसाहाय्यमन्तरा न सम्भवति । तथा चोक्तं भगवता सुश्रुतेन[2] ।

एवमेव नैकस्यापि कस्याश्चिद् भाषाया विशिष्टं ज्ञानं भाषान्तराणां परिज्ञानमन्तरा सम्भवति । अत एकस्या भाषाया विज्ञानाय विविधा भाषा अवश्यं वेदितव्याः । अत एव परमशब्दशास्त्रज्ञेन खलु भगवता कात्यायनेनोक्तम् – **अपशब्दज्ञानपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः** इति । अर्थाद् यावत्प्रतिशब्दं तत्सम्भवान् अपशब्दान् न जानाति न तावत् तच्छब्दस्य वास्तविकं तत्त्वं बोद्धुं कश्चिदपि समर्थो भवितुमर्हति । इदं च वाक्यकारीयं वचनं तत्र भगवता दयानन्दसरस्वतीस्वामिना स्वीये सत्यार्थप्रकाश एवं व्याख्यायते—

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१. 'पदान्येव संस्कृत्य संस्कृत्योत्सृज्यन्ते, तेषां यथेष्टमभिसम्बन्धो भवति । पात्रमाहर, आहर पात्रमिति वा' महा० १।१। १ ।

२. एकं शास्त्रमधीयानो न गच्छति शास्त्रनिर्णयम् इति सुश्रुतसूत्रस्थान ४।६ ।

'कोई देश की भाषा पढ़ने में कुछ दोष नहीं होता, किन्तु कुछ गुण ही होता है। **अपशब्दपूर्वके शब्दज्ञाने धर्मः** यह व्याकरण महाभाष्य का वचन है। इसका यह अभिप्राय है कि अपशब्द ज्ञान अवश्य करना चाहिये, क्योंकि उनके पढ़ने से व्यवहारों का उपकार होता है और संस्कृत शब्द के ज्ञान का भी उनको यथावत् बोध होता है। जितनी देशों की भाषा जानें उतना ही पुरुष को अधिक ज्ञान होता है, क्योंकि संस्कृत के शब्द बिगड़ के देशभाषा सब होती है। इससे इनके ज्ञान से परस्पर संस्कृत और भाषा के ज्ञान में उपकार ही होता है। इसी हेतु महाभाष्य में लिखा है— अपशब्द ज्ञान पूर्वक शब्दज्ञान में धर्म होता है अन्यथा नहीं। क्योंकि जिस पदार्थ का संस्कृत शब्द जानेगा और उसके भाषाशब्द को न जानेगा तो उसके यथावत् पदार्थ का बोध और व्यवहार भी न चलेगा।'[1]

अपि च तत्रभवता मीमांसकशिरोमणिना भगवता जैमिनिनाऽपि मीमांसायाः प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीये पादे म्लेच्छप्रसिद्धार्थं प्रामाण्याधिकरणं पिकनेमाधिकरणं वाऽधिकुर्वता विविधभाषाणां परिज्ञानेन स्वभाषासूत्सन्नप्रयोगाणां शब्दानाम् अर्थपरिज्ञानं विधेयमिति सुनिपुणं प्रतिपादितम्। एतन्न्यायेनैव 'जजि युद्धे' इत्यस्य घञ्प्रत्यये निष्पन्नस्यास्मद्वाङ्मयेऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य पारसीकभाषायां युद्धार्थे लब्धव्यवहारस्य 'जङ्ग' शब्दस्य युद्धार्थता परिगृहीतव्यैव। तस्यैव कुत्वाभावे 'जञ्ज' शब्दस्य वरयात्रारूपः पञ्जाबीभाषायां प्रसिद्धोऽर्थोऽपि ग्रहीतुं शक्य एव। कुत्वभावाभावाभ्यामर्थभिन्नता भोग्यभोज्यादिषु दृष्टव्यवहारा। एतेनैव च न्यायेन आर्येषु पवित्रार्थेऽप्रसिद्धस्यापि 'पाक'शब्दस्य पारसीकभाषायां पवित्रार्थे प्रयोगदर्शनात् पाकशब्दस्य पवित्रार्थोऽपि सम्भावनीय एव[2]। इत्याद्यृग्वर्णेष्वसकृच्छ्रूयमाणः पाकशब्द पवित्रार्थक एव। पवित्रार्थास्वीकारे नह्येतासामृचामर्थसामञ्जस्यमञ्जसोपपद्यते।

भाषावैज्ञानिकेन तावदिदमप्यवधेयम्, यद् बहवः संस्कृतशब्दा देशजातिप्रस्थानभेदान्नियतविषया अभूवन् देशभेदाद् यथा—रुद्रस्य 'भव' इति नाम बाहीकाः प्रायुञ्जन्त, 'शर्व' इति प्राच्याः। तदुक्तं शतपथब्राह्मणे[3]— एवमेव '**शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाषितो भवति, हम्मतिः सुराष्ट्रेषु, रंहतिः प्राच्यमगधेषु, गमिमेव त्वार्याः प्रयुञ्जते**' इत्युक्तं महाभाष्ये[4]। जातिभेदाद् यथा— अश्वस्य 'हयः' इति नाम देवेष्वेव प्रयोगमलभत, 'वाजी' इति गन्धर्वेषु, 'अर्वा' इत्यसुरेषु, 'अश्वः' इति मनुष्येषु। तदुक्तं बृहदारण्यकोपनिषदि **हयो भूत्वा देवानवहत्, वाजी गन्धर्वान्, अर्वा असुरान्, अश्वो मनुष्यान्** इति[5]। साम्प्रतिकोऽरबदेशो मिश्रदेशश्च पुराऽसुरैरेवाधिष्ठितावास्तामिति पुराणेभ्यः परिज्ञायते। अरबदेशोऽद्य यावद् अश्वेभ्यः प्रसिद्धो वर्तते। अरब इति नामाप्यश्ववाचकेन 'अर्वा'शब्देन साक्षात् सम्बद्धमिवोपलक्ष्यते। अत एव भगवता पतञ्जलिना शब्दव्यवहारविषयं परिगणता '**त्रयो लोकाः**'[6] इत्युक्तम्। इमे त्रयो लोका देवासुरमनुष्यजातिरूपा एव। प्रस्थानभेदादपि शब्दो भिद्यते।

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१. स० प्र० सन् १८७५ का संस्करण, समु० ११, पृष्ठ ३२७।

२. यो मा पाकेन मनसा चरन्तमभिचष्टे। अनृतेभिर्वचोभिः। ऋ० ७।१०४।८

३. 'भव इति बाहीकाः शर्व इति प्राच्याः' इति १।७।३।८

४. १।१।१

५. १।१।२

६. महा० १।१।१

यथा—'पृतन्यतः' इति 'पृतनायतः' इति यजुषि । 'मूर्च्छाय' इति चरके, 'मूर्च्छा' इत्यन्यत्र ।

शब्दानां देशजातिप्रस्थानभेदेषु नियतवृत्तत्वपरिज्ञानेन तत्तद्देशीयानां संस्कृतशब्दैस्तुलना, तदपभ्रंशत्व-परिज्ञानं च सुकरं भवति । यथा संस्कृतभाषायाम् अर्ध-नेम-सामिशब्दाः समानार्थकाः । तत्रार्धशब्दस्यैव 'अद्धा' 'आधा' इत्यपभ्रंशौ साम्प्रतिकभाषासु प्रयुज्येते । नेमशब्दस्य म्लेच्छेष्वेव प्रयोग आसीदिति मीमांसायाः पिक-नेमाधिकरणेन विज्ञायते ।[1] अस्य म्लेच्छेषु प्रयुज्यमानस्य 'नेम'शब्दस्य अवेस्तायां 'नएम' इति पारसीकभाषायां 'नीम' इति च रूपान्तरं प्रयुज्यते । 'नीम हकीम ख़तरे जान' इति लोकोक्तिः प्रसिद्धैव । एवम् आङ्ग्ल-भाषायां प्रयुज्यमानं सेमि (SEMI) पदं 'सामि' शब्दस्यैव रूपान्तरमिति सुवचम् । लैटिनभाषायां प्रयुज्य-मानं ORDO पदमर्धशब्दस्य रूपान्तरमिति स्पष्टं विज्ञायते ।

अपि च, न केवलं पर्यायशब्दा एव देशजातिप्रस्थानभेदान्नियतविषया दृश्यन्ते, अपितु मूलभूता प्रकृतः, तदुत्पन्ना विकृतश्चापि नियतविषयाः समवलोक्यन्ते । देशभेदाद् यथा—शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेवाभाष्यत । तन्निष्पन्नः कृदन्तः 'शव' शब्दोऽस्माभिर्व्यवाह्रियत व्यवह्रियते च[2] । एवं 'कानीन'शब्दस्य प्रकृतिः 'कनीना' पारसीकदेशेष्वेव पुरा लब्धप्रचाराऽऽसीत् । ज़ेन्द-अवेस्तायां तस्यैव 'कईनीन' इत्यपभ्रंशः समुपलभ्यते[3] । अस्मात् 'कनीना' शब्दान्निष्पन्नोऽपत्यार्थकः 'कानीन' शब्द आर्येष्वेव प्रयुज्यते । एवं प्रस्थानभेदादपि, यथा—'उष् दाहे' 'घृक्षरणदीप्त्योः' अनयार्धात्वोस्तिङन्तानि पदानि वेदेष्वेवोपलभ्यन्ते । लौकिकवाङ्मयेऽनयोः 'उष्णम्' 'घृतम्' इत्यादयः कृदन्ताः शब्दा एव प्रयुज्यन्ते । एतदेव सर्वमभिसमीक्ष्य भगवता महाभाष्यकारेण पतञ्जलिना **सप्तद्वीपा वसुमती त्रयो लोकाश्चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा भिन्नाः'** इत्यारम्य **'वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकम् इत्येतावाञ्छब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः'** इत्यन्ते सन्दर्भे शब्दस्य महतो महीयान् प्रयोगविषयो निर्दिष्टः ।

एतदेवाभिप्रेत्य एकस्या एव संस्कृतभाषायाः सकाशात् कथं विभिन्ना देशभाषाः समजायन्त इत्यस्य कारणानि निदर्शयन्तो दयानन्दस्वामिन आहुः—

'एक पदार्थ के बहुत नाम हैं । जैसे कि **ग्मा, क्ष्मा, क्षा, क्षोणी, क्षितिः, अवनिः, उर्वी, पृथ्वी, मही, रिपः, अदितिः, इडा, निर्ऋतिः, भूः, भूमि, पूषा, गातु गोत्रा** ये २१ नाम पृथिवी के हैं (निघण्टु १।१) । सो भिन्न-भिन्न देशों में भिन्न-भिन्न अपभ्रंश होने से भिन्न-भिन्न भाषा बन जाती है ।'[4]

भाषाविज्ञानस्य प्रादुर्भावः—भाषाविज्ञानं नाम शास्त्रमनयोरेव शताब्द्योः पाश्चात्यैर्विद्वद्भिरिदं प्रथम-तयोपज्ञातम् इति प्रथते लोकव्यवहारः । परं नेयं प्रसिद्धिर्याथार्थ्यं भजते । पाश्चात्यदेशेष्वस्य शास्त्रस्येदानी-मुपज्ञानं शक्यते स्वीकर्तुम्, परन्तु भारतीयाः प्राचीना शब्दशास्त्रविचक्षणा आचार्या भाषाविज्ञानशास्त्रेण परः

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१. १।३। ६
२. द्र० निरुक्त २।२
३. ह ओमयश्त ९।२३—'ह ओमा तास्-चित् या कइनीनो' ।
४. स० प्र० सन् १८७५ का संस्क० समु० ७, पृष्ठ ३१५ ।

सहस्रवर्षेभ्यः प्राङ्न केवलं परिचिता एवासन् अपि त्वस्मिञ्छास्त्रे परमनिपुणतां भजन्ते स्म। तैरेतच्छास्त्रस्य सुबोधाय विभिन्नान्यङ्गान्यधिकृत्य बहुविधानि शास्त्राणि विरचितान्यभूवन्। यथा—

शब्दस्य ध्वनिमात्रमङ्गमादाय **शिक्षाशास्त्रं** नाम प्रथमं वेदाङ्गं प्रोचुः। अत्र कः शब्दः, कथमुच्चारणीयः, के च तस्य यथावदुच्चारणाय स्थान-करण-प्रयत्ना अपेक्ष्यन्ते, के च तत्रोच्चारणदोषाः, उच्चारणदोषाणां कानि कानि निमित्तानि, केन च दोषेणोच्चार्यमाणः कः शब्दः किं रूपान्तरं भजते, उच्चारणाङ्गानां विकृतेः परिरक्षणाय कावाहारविहारौ सेवनीयौ इत्येवमाद्यो बहवो विषयास्तत्र मीमांसिताः।

उच्चारणदोषेण कथं वर्णान्तरनिष्पत्तिर्जायत इति निदर्शनायैकमुदाहरणमिहोपस्थाप्यते। संस्कृतपदे वर्तमानो यकारः प्राकृतभाषायां जकाररूपेण विपरिणमते, जकारश्च यकाररूपमापद्यते। यथा— यशोदा—जशोदा, यमुना–जमुना; जानाति–याणदि, जनपद-यणपद। एतादृग्वर्णपरिवर्तनकारणानां निदर्शकः कश्चिच्छिक्षाग्रन्थस्थः श्लोको भगवता पतञ्जलिना महाभाष्य उद्धृतः[1]।

एतस्मिन् श्लोके ध्वनिपरिवर्तकानि द्वादश दोषरूपाणि कारणान्युपन्यस्तानि। अत्र स्वरपदं वर्णमात्रोपलक्षकं द्रष्टव्यम्। दोषात्मकेषु द्वादशकारणेषु 'निहतं' नाम प्रयत्नाधिक्यम्, 'अर्धकं' नाम प्रयत्नाल्पत्वं द्वौ दोषावुपन्यस्तौ। आभ्यामेव दोषाभ्यां यकारजकारयोः परस्परं परिवर्तनं जायते। यतो हि यकारजकारयोरन्तःप्रयत्नवर्जं स्थानकरणबाह्यप्रयत्नादिकं सर्वं समानम्। अत ईषत्स्पृष्टप्रयत्नजे यकारे उच्चार्यमाणे यदि निर्हतं नाम प्रयत्नाधिक्यं स्यात् तर्हि ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वस्य पूर्णस्पृष्टत्वरूपे विपरिणामे उच्चार्यमाणा यकारध्वनिः स्पृष्टप्रयत्नजन्यजकारध्वनौ विपरिणमते। तथा सति यकारस्य जकारापत्तिर्जायते। एवमेव स्पृष्टप्रयत्नजन्ये जकारे उच्चार्यमाणे यद्यर्धकं नाम प्रयत्नाल्पत्वं स्यात् तर्हि स्पृष्टत्वस्येषत्स्पृष्टत्वरूपे विपरिणामे जकारध्वनेर्यकारध्वनौ विपरिणामो जायते। तेन जकारो यकारतामापद्यते। अत एव प्राचीनैः शास्त्रकारैरुच्यते— एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गेलोके कामधुग् भवति। इह च वाग्वज्रो भूत्वा यजमानं हिनस्ति। तथा चोक्तमाप्तैः—

स्वजनः श्वजनो माभूत् सकलं शकलं सकृत् शकृत् इति—

शब्दस्य स्वरूपमुपादाय **व्याकरणशास्त्रं** नाम द्वितीयं वेदाङ्गं प्रवृत्तम्। तत्र प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागकल्पनया शब्दस्य यत्साधुरूपं तद् व्याख्यायते। शब्देन च सह य आत्यन्तिकरूपेण सम्बद्धोऽर्थस्तं प्रधानीकृत्य **निरुक्तशास्त्रं** नाम तृतीयं वेदाङ्गं लब्धास्पदं बभूव। तत्र कस्य शब्दस्य कः कौ के वाऽर्थाः, कथं च तस्य प्रवृत्तिरिति विचिन्त्यते। येयं व्याकरणे शब्दस्वरूपचिन्ता, न सार्थपरिज्ञानमन्तरा सम्भवति। एवमेव निरुक्ते याऽर्थविचारणा, सापि न शब्दस्वरूपमुज्झित्य कथंचिदुपद्यते। अतो व्याकरणशास्त्रं शब्दस्यार्थं क्रोडीकृत्यैव शब्दस्वरूपपरिज्ञापनाय प्रवर्तते, न शब्दार्थप्राधान्येन भाषते। एवमेव निरुक्तशास्त्रमपि शब्दस्वरूपं क्रोडीकृत्यैव तदर्थनिदर्शनाय प्रयतते, न शब्दस्वरूपं प्राधान्येन ब्रूते। अत एवोक्तं भगवता यास्केन— **व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यं** स्वार्थसाधकं च[2]।

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१. ग्रस्तं निरस्तमविलम्बितं निर्हतमम्बूकृतमथोध्मातं विकम्पितम्।
सन्दष्टमेणिकृतमर्धकं द्रुतं विकीर्णमेताः स्वरदोषभावनाः॥ १।१।१

२. निरुक्त १।१५

एवं षट्सु वेदाङ्गेषु शिक्षा-व्याकरण-निरुक्ताख्यानि यथाक्रमं ध्वनिं शब्दस्वरूपं तदर्थं च व्याचक्षाणा भाषाविज्ञानशास्त्रैकदेशभूतानि संहत्य कात्स्न्येंन भारतीयं भाषाविज्ञानं ब्रुवन्ति । इमानि शिक्षादीन्यपि प्रस्थान-भेदेन बहुधा भिन्नानि । (प्राकृताद्यपभ्रंशभाषाणां व्याकरणानामप्यत्रैवान्तर्भावो द्रष्टव्यः) । एभ्योऽतिरिक्तान्यपि कानिचिच्छास्त्राणि सन्ति यत्र प्रसङ्गाद् भाषाविज्ञानान्तर्गताः केचन विषयाश्चिन्त्यन्ते । यथा मीमांसाशास्त्रम् भरतनाट्यशास्त्रं, प्रातिशाख्यादीनि च । एतेषां शिक्षादीनां च व्याख्याग्रन्था अपि क्वचिन्महत्साहाय्यमा-चरन्ति ।

अस्मिन् भाषाविज्ञानविषये पाश्चात्यानां भारतीयानां च विदुषां केषुचिद् विषयेषु भूतत्वाकाशमिव महदन्तरमुपलभ्यते । यथा—

पाश्चात्या विपश्चितो विकासमतमाश्रयमाणा आदिमानवं ज्ञानरहितं भाषारहितं च पशुधर्माणमाति-ष्ठन्ते । तेषां मते मानवैर्बहोः कालाद् अनन्तरं कथञ्चिद् भाषा प्रकल्पिता । मानवानामाद्यो वाग्व्यवहारः कथं प्रारभत, कथं च भाषाया उत्पत्तिरभूद् इत्यत्र प्रायेण सर्वेऽपि पाश्चात्या भाषाविदो विप्रवदन्ते । साम्प्रतिकास्तु 'जे० वैण्ड्रिएस' प्रभृतयो वाग्व्यवहारारम्भकारणं निपुणतया अन्विष्यमाणा अपि यदा तज्ज्ञातुं नाशक्नुवन् तदा ते 'आदौ भाषाया उत्पत्तिः कथमभवद् इत्यस्य भाषाविज्ञानेन सह न कश्चित् सम्बन्धः' इत्येतादृशं वादं प्रारभन्ते[1] ।

अपि च, पाश्चात्यैर्विपश्चिद्भिः संसारस्य निखिलाभाषा विभज्य ये वर्गाः प्रकल्पिता तदनुसारमास्मा-कीना सुरभारती भारोपीयवर्गे (इण्डोयोरोपियनवर्गे) परिगण्यते । भारोपीयवर्गस्थानामपि ग्रीकलैटिन-प्रभृतीनां प्राचीनानां भाषाणां सहोदरीयं सुरभारती इति प्रकल्प्य तासां मातृस्थानीया काचिदन्या भाषाऽऽसीद् येदानीमस्तित्वं न भजते इति सिद्धान्तितम् । एकेन खलु पण्डितमन्येन कल्पनामात्रप्रसूतायां तथाकथितमातृत्वे प्रतिष्ठापितायां भाषायां कथाप्येका निबद्धा । गच्छति काले चतुरषष्टितमोत्तरैकोनविंशतिशते (१९६४) वैक्रमाब्दे यदा 'बोधाजकोई' स्थानतः त्यूह्यू गोविल्क्यनाम्ना पुरातत्त्वविदा भूगर्भतः, तेषां मतानुसारमेव विक्रमतश्चतुश्शतकपुरातन्यः कीलकाक्षराङ्किताः काश्चन हित्तीभाषामय्यो मुद्रा उपलब्धास्ततः प्रभृति ग्रीक-लैटिनादिभाषाभिः सहैव सुरभारत्यपि काल्पनिक्या आदिभाषाया दौहित्री पदं प्रापिता ।

वस्तुतस्तु पाश्चात्यविद्विद्भिर्महता प्रयत्नेन स्थापितमेतन्मतं तेषां नूतनेनानुसन्धानेनैव प्रामाण्यकोटचा बहिष्कृतं भवति । 'ग्रे' नामा कश्चिद् भाषाविज्ञो भिन्नासु भाषासु प्रयुज्यमाना नामविभक्तीः परिगणयन्नाह— 'भारोपीयभाषासु संस्कृतेऽष्टौ नामविभक्तयः श्रूयन्ते, ग्रीकलिथुएनियनभाषयोः सप्त, हिट्टाइटस्लेविकभाषयोः षट्, लैटिनट्यूटेनिकभाषयोः पञ्च, एल्बानियनभाषायां चतस्रः, आर्मिनियनप्राचीनायरिशभाषयोस्तिस्र एवा-वशिष्टाः'[2] इति ।

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1. The statement that the porblem of the origin of language is not a linguistic order always provokes surprise. It is true nevertheless. J. Vendryes, *Language*, p. 5.

   For the present, the whole question of the origin of language must be ruled out of the sphere of scientific consideration for lack of evidence. *Found. of Lang.* p. 40.

2. In Indo-European, we find eight distinct case-forms in Sanskrit; Greek and Lithuanian have seven; Hittite and Old Church Slavic, six; Latin and Teutonic, five (Old French and Modern

अनेन नामविभक्तीनां ह्रासद्योतकेनैतिह्येन सुरभारती नैव ग्रीकलैटिनभाषयोः समकक्षायां समकाले वा स्थातुमर्हति। यतो हि ग्रीकभाषायां सप्त, लैटिनभाषायां च पञ्चैव नामविभक्तयः श्रूयन्ते। एवमेव सुरभारत्या मातृपदे स्थापिता हित्ती (हिट्टाइट) भाषाऽपि न तत्पदमलंकर्तुं समर्था, यतो हि तस्यां षडेव नाम विभक्तय उपलभ्यन्ते। विभक्तीनां चैष ह्रासः कालक्रममपेक्षते। तस्मात् कालक्रमानुसारम् उत्तरोत्तरोत्पद्यमानासु भाषास्वेव विभक्तीनां ह्रासक्रमः सम्भवति। अतो ग्रीकलैटिनसंस्कृतादयो भाषाः समकालिका इति पाश्चात्यमतं सर्वथा निर्मूलमेव। अपि च, यदि ग्रीकलैटिनसंस्कृतप्रभृतीनां मातृस्थाने प्रतिष्ठापितायां हित्तीभाषायां षडेव विभक्तस्तर्हि तत्प्रसूतासु विभक्तीनां ह्रासस्तु शक्यते व्याख्यातुम् उत्तरत्र सर्वत्र ह्रासस्य दर्शनात्। परन्तु संस्कृतभाषायां द्वयोः, ग्रीकभाषायां चैकस्या नामविभक्त्या वृद्धिः कथं नाम सम्भवेत्? नैव पाश्चात्या भाषाविदः समस्याया एतस्याः समाधानं कर्तुं शक्ताः। तस्मात् संस्कृतग्रीकलैटिन प्रभृतीनां परस्परं स्वसृत्वं समकालिकत्वं, हित्तीभाषायाश्च तासां मातृत्वं पूर्वकालवर्तित्वं वा नैव तर्कनिकषं सहते।

यच्चापि पाश्चात्याभाषाविदो ब्रुवते—'भारोपीयभाषाणां याऽऽदिमा भाषाऽऽसीत् तस्याम् अर्ध-एकार-अर्ध-आकारयोः श्रवणमासीत्। तयोरर्धैकारौकारध्वन्योः ग्रीकलैटिनादिभारोपीयभाषाभिर्यथावत् संरक्षणं विहितम्, परन्तु संस्कृतभाषायां तयोरर्धैकारौकारयोः 'अकार' ध्वनौ परिवर्तनमभूत्। यथा ग्रीकभाषायाः 'एस्ति' पदे लैटिनभाषायाः 'एस्त' पदे चार्धैकारः श्रूयते। तस्यैव संस्कृतभाषायाः 'अस्ति' पदेऽकारः समजनि।

अत्रेदं विचार्यम्—किं वस्तुतोऽर्धैकारौकारयोरेव संस्कृतभाषायाम् अकारध्वनौ परिवर्तनमभूत्, उत भारोपीयग्रीकलैटिनादिभाषासु अकारस्यैव अर्धैकारौकारयोः परिवर्तनं समजनि? एवं विचार्यमाणे पाश्चात्यानां भाषाविदामुक्तमतं न कथमपि न्याय्यपथमनुसरति। तत्र तावत् तत्रभवन्तो यां भारोपीयभाषाणामादिभाषां मातृभाषां व्यवस्थापयन्ति कल्पयन्ति वा, सैव शशशृङ्गायते। अतः शशशृङ्गायमानाया भाषाया एव सत्ता न शक्यते प्रमाणीकर्तुम्, कुतस्तस्याम् अर्धैकारौकारयोः सद्भावं कश्चित् सुचेताः शक्नोति कल्पयितुम्। तस्मात् सर्वोऽप्ययं विचारः साध्यसमहेत्वाभासकोटौ निपतति। तत्र तावत् त्रयं साध्यम्। प्रथमं कल्पिताया आदिभाषायाः सत्ता तत्स्वरूपं साध्यम्। द्वितीयं तस्याम् अर्धैकारौकरध्वनी आस्तामिति साध्यम्। तृतीयं तावेवार्धैकारौकारध्वनी अकारध्वनौ परिणतौ इति साध्यम्। एवं सर्वत्र साध्यपरम्परायां सत्यामपि पाश्चात्यानां भाषामतं विज्ञानपदवीं प्रतिष्ठितं प्रतिष्ठापितं वेत्येव महदाश्चर्यकरम्।

वयं तु ब्रूमः—संस्कृतभाषास्थ एवाकारध्वनिर्ग्रीकादिभाषासु अर्धैकारौकारध्वनौ परिणत इति। कुत इति चेत्? **सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमित्येके** इत्यापिशलपाणिनीयशिक्षानियमात्। यदाऽकार एवाशक्त्या तालुस्थानादुच्चार्यते तदा स किञ्चिद् इकारध्वनिसाम्यं भजते। यदा कण्ठतालुभ्यामुच्चार्यते तदार्धैकारध्वनिसाम्यं लभते। यदा स एव कण्ठोष्ठाभ्यामुच्चार्यते तदार्धौकारध्वनिसाम्यं भजते। प्रत्यक्षदृश्यमेत्, नात्र काचित्

English, only two); Albanian, four : and Armenian and Old English, three. This reduction in the number of case-forms, with the result that some of them take over the functions of one or more others, gives rise to the linguistic phoneme now known as *syncretism*. The reason for this seems to be phonetic decay of the characteristic case-endings. Gray, p. 201.

कल्पना। पण्डितशब्दो रोहतकादिप्रदेशे 'पिण्डित'सदृश उच्चार्यते। एवं खच्चरशब्दः क्वचित् खुच्चरसाम्यं गच्छति। बङ्गदेशजानामकारस्याधौंकार सदृशमुच्चारणं तु सार्वजनीनम्, न तत् किमपि वक्तव्यमपेक्षते। एवमेव ग्रीकदेशीयानां ह्रस्वाकार उच्चारयितव्ये अर्धैकारौकारोच्चारणं स्वाभाविकमस्ति। एतत् प्रमाणी कर्तुं केषांचित् शुद्धभारतीयशब्दानां ग्रीकजनानामुच्चारणं निदर्श्यते। यथा 'मधु' शब्दं ग्रीकदेशवासिनः 'मैथ्यु' (METHU) रूपेण, 'मथुरा' शब्दं 'मेथोरा' (METHORA) रूपेण 'दशार्ण'शब्दं 'दोसोर्न' (DOSORNA) रूपेण उच्चारयामासुः। यदा तावत् तेषामयं बाङ्गानामिव स्वाभाविक उच्चारणदोष इतिहाससिद्धः, तर्हि तैरेव 'अस्ति' आदि पदस्थोऽकारोऽन्यभारतीयपदस्थाकार इवार्धैकारौकारध्वनौ न परिवर्तितः स्यादित्यत्र को नाम सचेता विश्वसेत्। एवं च पूर्वनिर्दिष्टेन शिक्षानियमेन 'अस्ति' पदम् 'एस्ति' रूपेण परिवृत्तम् अग्निपदं च लैटिनभाषायां 'इग्निस्' रूपेण, प्राचीनलिथुएनियनभाषाया 'उङ्निस्' रूपेण, स्लैवानिकभाषायां च 'ओग्निस्' रूपेण विपरिवृत्तमुपलभ्यते। भारतीया अपि सामगाने 'अग्न आयाहि' इति मन्त्रस्थम् 'अग्नि' पदम् 'आग्नाई' इत्येवं रूपेणोच्चारयन्ति।

भारतीयास्तु विपश्चितसृष्टेरादावेव परेशकृपयाऽऽद्यानामृषीणां हृदयेषु दैव्या वेदवाचः प्रादुर्भावं मन्यन्ते। तयैव च वेदवाचाऽऽद्यानां मानवानां वाग्व्यवहारः प्राचलत्। इयमेव दैवीवाग् उत्तरकालमभिधातृणामशक्त्यादिभिरनेकैः कारणैरपभ्रश्यमाना नानारूपाणि जग्राह। तदुक्तम्—

> **यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयमाय् तामन्वविन्दन्नृषिषु प्रविष्टाम्**[1] । इति
> **देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपा पशवो वदन्ति**[2] इति चर्ग्वर्णः ।[3]
> **सर्वेषां तु सनामानि कर्माणि च पृथक् पृथक् ।**
> **वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ पृथक्संस्थाश्च निर्ममे ॥** इति मनुः[4]
> **दैवी वाग्व्यतिकीर्णेयमशक्तैरभिधातृभिः ।**

इत्याह वाग्विदामलङ्कारभूतः प्रमाणितशब्दशास्त्रो भर्तृहरिः।

प्राचीना मिश्रदेशीया यूनानदेशीयाश्चापि विद्वांसः कस्यांचिद् दैव्यीं वाचं प्रति विश्वसन्ति स्म।

एवं च भारतीयानां प्राचां भाषावैज्ञानिकानां मते मानवानामादिभाषा दैवीवागेवासीत्। एषैव सुरभारती भारोपीयाणां भाषाणामपि माताऽऽसीदिति मतं योरोपदेशे सर्वप्रथमं फ्राइड्श्लैगल नामा जर्मनदेशीयो

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१. ऋ० १०।७१।३

२. पशवः पशुसदृशा अनासादितज्ञानाः सामान्यजना इत्यर्थः। तथा च श्रूयते सद्यो विवाहितायै 'आशीर्मन्त्रे'—'वितिष्ठन्तामातुरस्या उपस्थान्नानारूपाः पशवो जायमानाः'। अथर्व १४।२।२५

३. ऋ० ८।१००।११

४. १।२१

भाषाविद् घोषयाञ्चकार। तदनु ईसाईयहूदीमतपक्षपातनिमग्नैर्बिभ्यद्भिः[1] कैश्चिद् बॉपवॉडमरमैक्समूलर-प्रभृतिभिर्विपश्चिद्भिः श्लैगलप्रतिष्ठापितं सत्यं मतमुत्सादयितुं प्रयत्नोऽकारि[2]। यथा सूर्यप्रकाशो न मेघानां घटाटोपैः सर्वकालं निवारयितुं शक्यः, यथा वा खग्रासग्रस्ते सूर्ये प्रसृतोऽन्धकारो न सर्वकालं स्थातुं शक्तः, एवमेव पाश्चात्यैर्विबुधैर्महता प्रयत्नेन सुरभारत्या भारोपीयाणां भाषाणां जननीपदं दूरमपास्ते सत्यपि तेषामनुसन्धानेनैवैतत् सत्यं प्रकटीभवति यदियं सुरभारत्येव भारोपीयभाषाणां जननीस्थानीया। 'ग्रे' नाम्नो भाषाविदः पूर्वोद्धृतो भारोपीयभाषासु विद्यमानानां नामविभक्तीनां परिगणको लेखः फ़्राईड्श्लैगलघोषितं मतमेव शब्दान्तरैः प्रतिष्ठापयति, भारतीयं च मतमुपोद्बलयति।

नैतावदेव, वैदेशिकभाषाविद्भिः प्रकल्पिताः सेमेटिकहिमेटिकादिरूपा भाषावर्गा अपि सर्वथा अविश्वसनीया एव। पाश्चात्यविदुषां मतानुसारं सेमेटिकवर्गस्थानां भाषाणां भारोपीयवर्गस्थाभिर्भाषाभिः सह न दूरतोऽपि सम्बन्धः। परन्तु सेमेटिकवर्गपरिगणिता अरबीभाषा बहुषु विषयेषु भारोपीयवर्गे परिगणितया संस्कृतभाषया सादृश्यं धत्ते। अरबीभाषायामद्यापि संस्कृतवदेव त्रीणि वचनानि, तद्वदेव नाम्नामाख्यातजत्वनियम उपलभ्यते। यत्तु खलु द्विवचनत्वं संस्कृतभाषातः साक्षात् प्रसूतासु भाषास्वपि नोपलभ्यते, तदेवारबीभाषायां परिदृश्यमानमसाधारणसादृश्यं किं न तयोः कञ्चित् सम्बन्धं द्योतयति। भारतीयैतिह्यानुसारं तु अरबदेशीया असुराणां वंशजाः[3]। असुराश्च देवानां ज्येष्ठा भ्रातर आसन्। त उत्तरकालं स्वीयगर्हितकर्मणा देवत्वं विहायासुरत्वं प्राप्ताः। एतच्चैतिह्यमसुराणां कृते प्रयुज्यमाने 'पूर्वे देवाः[4]' शब्दे निगूढमस्ति। एषामसुराणां सुरभारत्येव मातृभाषाऽऽसीत्। असुरेष्वेवाऽश्ववाचकं 'अर्वा' पदं लब्धव्यवहारमासीदिति बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्वचसा प्रतिपादितं पुरस्तात्। एतदेव सर्वमभिसन्धाय भगवद्दयानन्दसरस्वती स्वामिना प्रत्यपादि—

'संस्कृत के बिगड़ने से गिरीश (=ग्रीस) लाटीन अङ्ग्रेज और अरब देश वालों की भाषा बनाई।'[5]

एतस्मिन् वचने 'अरब देश वालों की भाषा' इति पदानि विशेषतो द्रष्टुमर्हाणि सन्ति।

सेमेटिक-हिमेटिक-आर्लिकप्रभृतीनां भाषावर्गाणां मिथ्यात्वं पाश्चात्यविदुषामपि ज्ञानगोचरी संजा-

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1. Custodians of the Pentateuch were alarmed by the prospect that Sanskrit would bring down the Tower of Babel. To anticipate the danger, they pilloried Sanskrit as priestly fraud, a kind of pidgin classic concocted by Brahmins from Greek and Latin elements. *The Loom of L*, p. 171.
2. One of his pupils was a brilliant young German, Friedrich Schlegel. In 1808, Schlegel published a little book, *Uber die Sprache und Whisheit der Inder* (On the Language and Philosophy of the Indians). This put Sanskrit on the Continental map Much that is in Schlegel's book makes us smile to-day, pherhaps most of all the author's dictum that Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. Badmore, *The Loom of L.*, p. 174.
३. द्र० वैदिक वाङ्मय का इतिहास, भाग १, पृष्ठ ९१, ९२ (द्वि० सं०)
४. द्र० अमरकोशेऽसुरनामानि।
५. स० प्र० सन् १८७५ का संस्क०, पृष्ठ ३०९

तम् । अत एव 'ग्रे' नामा विपश्चिद् ब्रवीति—'आगमिष्यति स कालो यदा सम्प्रति पृथक्त्वेन स्वीकृताः प्रधानभूताः भाषापरिवाराः (इण्डोयोरोपियन-हिमेटिक-सेमेटिक-आर्लिकप्रभृतयः) कस्यचिदेकस्यैव वंशस्य सिद्धा भवेयुः[1]' इति ।

अतिविपुला सुरभारती

प्राक्कालिका सुरभारती शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चातिविपुलाऽऽसीत् । सा उत्तरोत्तरं मनुष्याणां मेधाया ह्रासाद् धारणाशक्तेः क्षयाद् दर्पप्रमादाशक्त्यादिभिरपभ्रंशत्वप्रवृत्तेर्म्लेच्छत्वप्रादुर्भावाच्चोत्तरोत्तरं ह्रसन्ती भगवतः पाणिनेः काले शब्दतोऽर्थतो देशतश्चात्यन्तं संकोचं प्राप्तवती । तस्या अतिह्रासप्राप्ताया अपि सुरभारत्या भगवता पाणिनिनाऽत्यन्तं संक्षिप्तं शब्दानुशासनं प्रोक्तम् । तदुक्तं महाभारतव्याख्याता देवबोधेन—

यान्युज्जहार माहेन्द्राद् व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।
पदरत्नानि किं तानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोष्पदे ।। इति

यस्याः किल सुरभारत्याः सप्तद्वीपायां वसुमत्यां कदाचिद् व्यवहार आसीत्, सा सम्प्रति स्वदेशेऽपि लोकव्यवहाराद् बहिर्भूता केवलं वाङ्मयमेव कृताश्रया विश्राम्यति । तत्रापि

गुरोर्गिरः पञ्चदिनान्यधीत्य वेदान्तशास्त्रेषु दिनत्रयं च ।
अमी समाघ्राय च न्यायवादान् समागताः कुक्कुटपादमिश्राः ।।

इत्येवं भूतानामस्माकं कियान् सुरभारत्या परिचय इति वयं सर्व एव विजानीमः ।

इदमत्रावधेयम् - यदि हि नाम वयं सुरभारतीप्रणयिनः, प्राचीनानामाप्तानां वचनेषु श्रद्दध्मः, तेषां च वचःप्रामाण्येन संस्कृतभाषाया एव सर्वभाषाजननीत्वं स्वीकुर्मश्चेद् अस्माकमेवेदं कर्त्तव्यं संजायते, यद् वयं पाश्चात्यविद्वद्भिर्बहु शाखात्वं प्रापितं भाषाविज्ञानं च यथाशास्त्रं परिष्कृत्य स्वमातृभाषां सुरभारतीं तस्मिन्नेव सर्वभाषाजननीपदे प्रतिष्ठापयेम्, यत इयं दैवी वाक् पाश्चात्यैर्भाषाविद्भिर्महता प्रयासेन सर्वभाषाजननीपदात् प्रच्याव्यात्यन्तं दूरमपास्ता । पुनस्तां सर्वभाषाजननीपदे प्रतिष्ठापयितुमस्माभिरत्यन्तं प्रयत्नः कर्तव्यो भविष्यति । तदर्थं च त्रिविधः प्रयत्नोऽस्मभिर्विधेयः—

प्रथमं तावत् पाश्चात्यभाषाशास्त्रं सम्यगनुशील्य तच्छिद्राणि सूक्ष्मदृशावलोक्य च तत्र तथा प्रहर्तव्यं यथा न तद्दोषोद्धारः कथमपि सम्भवेत् ।

द्वितीयम्—भारतीयभाषा विज्ञानस्य स्कम्भभूतानां शिक्षाव्याकरणनिरुक्तविषयाणां यावन्तोऽपि ग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते तान् सर्वान् मूलग्रन्थानां तथाविधाऽभिनवा व्याख्या विधेया यथैते शिक्षा-व्याकरण-निरुक्तविषयका ग्रन्थाः पाश्चात्यमतानुयायिभिर्बहुधा दूषिताः पुनर्निर्मलतां भजेरन् ।

अष्टाध्यायीनिरुक्तादिग्रन्थविहितान् लोपागमवर्णविकारादिनियमान् उपादायैव पाश्चात्या विपश्चितो ब्रुवन्ति यद् यास्कपाणिनिप्रभृतिभिर्ये व्युत्पत्तिनियमा उच्यन्ते तैः संस्कृतभाषायामपि प्राकृतादिभाषावद् उत्तरो-

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1. In theory, it is by no means impossible that great language-groups of the world now regarded as unconnected (Indo-European, Hamitio-Semetic, Arabic, etc.) may yet be found to be genealogically related. Gray, p. 302.

त्तरं महत्परिवर्तनमभूत् । एतत् परिवर्तनं निदर्शयितुमेते विद्वांस ऋग्वेदादारभ्य शतपथब्राह्मणमहाभारतस्वप्नवासवदत्ताभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलादीन् ग्रन्थानुपस्थाप्य संस्कृतभाषागतं परिवर्तनं प्रत्यक्षं प्रदर्शयन्ति । वस्तुतः को नाम चक्षुष्मान् एषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रत्यक्षं प्रतीयमानं भाषाभेदं मिथ्येति प्रभवेद् वक्तुम् । यदि हि सुरभारत्यां तादृक् परिवर्तनं स्वीक्रियते तर्हीयमपि प्राकृतादिभाषाणां समाना स्यात् । दुःखस्य त्वेतन्महत्कारणं यद् भारतीयाः अनभिज्ञशास्त्रतात्पर्या वैयाकरणाः 'उत्तरोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम्' इति वदन्तः कालभेदात् सञ्जायमानं प्रयोगभेदं समर्थयन्ते ।

यद्यस्माभिः सुरभारत्यां प्राकृतादिभाषावत् परिवर्तनं न स्वीक्रियते तर्हि साक्षात् परिदृश्यमानस्य पाश्चात्यैः पण्डितैरुपस्थापितस्य च परिहाराय अष्टाध्यायीनिरुक्तग्रन्थयोस्तादृशी व्याख्या विधेया ययोपलभ्यमानं निदर्श्यमानं च परिवर्तनं दुर्जनसन्तोषन्यायेन स्वीकृत्यापि समाहितं भवेत् ।

यावदस्माभिः सुरभारत्याः परिचयो लब्धः, पाश्चात्यभाषाविज्ञानमधीतम्, स्वीयानि च शास्त्राणि सूक्ष्मदृशाऽवलोकितानि, तदनुसारं दृढतया शक्यते एतद् वक्तुं, यत् सुरभारत्यामद्य यावत् प्राकृतादिभाषावत् किञ्चिदपि परिवर्तनं नाभूत् । यदपि परिवर्तनं प्रतीयते तदपि प्रतीयमानमेव, न तु वास्तविकम् । तस्याश्च प्रतीतेरेकमेव कारणम्, यदियं सुरभारती पुराकाले शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चातिविपुलाऽऽसीत् । तस्यामुत्तरोत्तरं शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च ह्रासोऽभवत् । तथा सति कस्यचिच्छब्दस्य कदाचिल्लोपोऽभवत्, अपरस्य चापरकाले । तेन कस्यचित् शब्दस्य प्रकृतिरेवावशिष्टा, कस्यचिद् विकृतिरेव । एवं यथा क्रममुत्सन्नमानाया भाषायास्तत्तत्कालनिबद्धेषु ग्रन्थेषु भाषाभेदस्य प्रतीतिस्वाभाविक्येव । सुरभारत्याः सर्वस्मिन्नपि वाङ्मये न तादृशमेकमप्युदाहरणं निदर्शयितुं शक्यते, यस्य पुराकालेऽन्यथा प्रयोगो बभूव, उत्तरकाले च तदेव विपरिणम्य प्रयुज्यमानमपि सुरभारत्या अङ्गं स्यात् । वयं तु सुरभारत्या सह पालिप्राकृतादिभाषाणां तुलनां विधाय एतन्निश्चितवन्तो यद् यस्यापि सुरभारतीशब्दस्य कथमप्यपभ्रंशो लोके लब्धप्रचारोऽभूत् तत्कालमेव तस्य साधुशब्दस्य प्रयोगोऽपि शिष्टैः स्वीयभाषायां परित्यक्तः । येन तद् द्वारा तत्सम्बद्धापभ्रष्टशब्दस्य शिष्टभाषायां न कथमपि भवेत् । अन्यथा पालिप्राकृतादिभाषासु अपभ्रंशरूपेण प्रयुज्यमानस्य पुरा च संस्कृतभाषायां निर्बाधतया लब्धप्रचारस्य तृतीयाबहुवचनस्य भिस औत्तरकालिकेषु संस्कृतग्रन्थेषु प्रयोगः कथं नोपलभेत । एवमेव पाणिनीये धातुपाठे भ्वादौ पठ्यमानस्य कृञ्धातोः पुरा प्रयुज्यमाना करत्यादिरूपाणां लौकिकसंस्कृतग्रन्थेषु प्रयोगः कुतो न दृश्येत (पाणिनीय धातुपाठे भ्वादिगणाद् भूधातोर्निष्कासनं सायणाचार्येण कृतिमिति माधवीयधातुवृत्तितो ऋग्भाष्यात्[1] च ज्ञायते) । अतो विज्ञायते 'अनभिधानान्न प्रयुज्यते' इति वैयाकरणानां नियमे पूर्वनिर्दिष्टमेव कारणं न कारणान्तरम् ।

एवं चातिविपुलायाः सुरभारत्या उत्तरोत्तरं ह्रासवशात् परिज्ञायमाना परिवृत्तिर्न वास्तिविकी, अपितु भ्रान्तिमूलैव ।[2]

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१. १।८२।१

२. एतद्विषयस्य विस्तरेण परिज्ञानार्थमस्मदीयं 'संस्कृत व्याकरण शास्त्र का इतिहास' इति ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमोऽध्यायः परिशीलनीयः ।

तृतीयम्—यावान् सुरभारत्याः शब्दराशिरस्माभिरधिगतपरिचयो विद्यते, न तावतैव देश-देशान्तराणां भाषाणां तुलनां विधायेमां देववाणीं सर्वभाषाजननीपदं प्रतिष्ठापयितुं शक्नुमः। एतदर्थं दैव्या वाचः संस्कृतस्याति-प्राचीनकालिकं विपुलस्वरूपम्, यदिदानीं बहुधा विनष्टं तस्य समुद्धाराय प्रथममस्माभिः प्रयतनीयम्। सन्ति नः सकाशे प्राचीनमहर्षिभिः सुरक्ष्यास्मभ्यं प्रत्तास्तादृशा उपायाः, यैरनायासेनैव तस्या विपुलस्वरूपस्य समुद्धारं कर्तुं शक्नुमः।

तत्र प्रथमं पाणिनीयं व्याकरणमेव महत्साहाय्यमत्राचरति परन्त्वष्टाध्याय्यास्तादृशी व्याख्या कर्तव्या भविष्यति यया विनष्टशब्दराशेः समुद्धारः स्यात् (एतादृश्या व्याख्यायाः स्वरूपमग्रे निदर्शयिष्यते)। अपरं च, यावदस्माकं संस्कृतस्य प्राचीनं वाङ्मयमुपलभ्यते, तत्र तादृशाः प्रयोगा अन्वेषणीया ये पुरालब्धप्रचारा सन्तोऽप्युत्तरकालमप्रयुज्यमानतां गताः। एतादृशान् एव प्रयोगान् अर्वाचीना वैयाकरणाश्छान्दसान् आर्षान् सौत्रान् वा मत्वा न केवलमुपेक्षन्ते, अपितु प्रकारान्तरेण तेषामपशब्दत्वमुद्घोषयन्ति। तथा चाह शब्दकौस्तुभे भट्टोजिदीक्षितः—

"कथं सखिना पतिना पतौ? अत्र हरदत्तः—'छन्दोवद् ऋषयः कुर्वन्ति' इति। अस्यायमाशयः—असाधव एवैते त्रिशङ्क्वाद्ययाज्ययाजनवत् तपोमाहात्म्यशालीनां मुनीनाम् असाधुप्रयोगोऽपि नातीव बाधत इति।"

एवं हरदत्तोऽप्याह—'इतिहासपुराणेष्वपशब्दा अपि सन्ति' इति।

आः शान्तं पापम्, शान्तं पापमिति। ये हि नाम सर्वज्ञकल्पाः शिष्टा महर्षयः शब्दार्थेषु मर्यादात्वेन स्वीक्रियन्ते महाभाष्यकृता त एवापशब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यन्तीति को नाम सचेताः श्रद्दधीत। यदि हि वयमेव महाभारत-पुराणादिषु अपशब्दान् स्वीकुर्मस्तर्हि किमपराद्धं महाभारतादिग्रन्थनिर्मातॄन् चारणभाटादिशब्दैः स्मर्यमाणैः पाश्चात्यविद्वद्भिः? तस्माच्छान्दसानामार्षाणां सौत्राणां वा प्रयोगाणामपशब्दत्वाग्रहस्त्वप्रामाणिक एव। एवं चैतादृशशब्दानामन्येऽपि समानरूपाः शब्दा ऊहनीयाः। पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्य वैज्ञानिक्या व्याख्यया, प्राचीन-व्याकरणोपलब्धैः नियमैः, प्राचीनवाङ्मयोपलब्धशब्दसमूहेन चास्याः सुरभारत्या अतिप्राचीनं विपुलं स्वरूपमना-यासेनैवोपस्थापयितुं शक्यते।

पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्य कीदृशी वैज्ञानिकी व्याख्या विधातव्या, कथं च तयोत्सन्नानां प्रयोगाणां पुन-रुद्धारस्य सम्भव इति प्रदर्शनाय केषाञ्चित् सूत्राणां तादृशी व्याख्या प्रस्तूयते—

अस्ति ह्येकं पाणिनीयं सूत्रम्—**कन्यायाः कनीन च**[1]। अत्र च कन्याशब्दादपत्यार्थेऽण्प्रत्ययो विधीयते। कन्याशब्दस्य स्थाने कनीनादेशश्च क्रियते। एवं कानीनपदं व्युत्पाद्यते। यदिनामास्य सूत्रस्यैतदेव तात्पर्यं, यत् कानीनपदं कन्याशब्दस्यैव ताद्धितं रूपम्, तर्हि को नाम भाषावैज्ञानिकोऽत्र श्रद्धास्यति। नहि कन्या शब्दादणि आञ्जस्येन कानीनपदं सिद्ध्यति। ताद्धितेन नियमेन तु कानीनस्य प्रकृतिः कनीना एवेति निःसंशयं शक्यते वक्तुम्। वस्तुतस्तु भगवान् पाणिनिरिममेवार्थं द्योतयितुं कन्याशब्दस्य स्थाने मूलप्रकृतिभूतं 'कनीन'प्रातिपदि-

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१. अष्टा० ४।१।११६

कमादिशति। भगवतः पाणिनेः काले कानीनशब्दस्य प्रयोगस्तु विद्यमान आसीत् परन्तु तत्प्रकृतेः 'कनीना' शब्दस्य लोके व्यवहारो नासीत्। अतः पाणिनिः कनीनाशब्दस्य समानार्थकं लोके व्यवह्रियमाणं कन्याशब्दमुपादाय तस्मादण्प्रत्ययं विधाय लुप्तां मूलप्रकृतिं तत्स्थान आदिष्टवान्।

इदमपरं सूत्रम्—**मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक् च**[1] अस्यायमर्थः—मनुशब्दादपत्येऽर्थे अञ्यतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, तस्य षुगागमश्च। मनोरपत्यं मानुषः मनुष्यः। अत्रापि नैव ताद्धितेन नियमेन मनुष्यमानुषयोर्मनुशब्दः प्रकृतिर्भवितुमर्हति। मनोरपत्यं तु मानव एव, न मनुष्यो मानुषश्च। मनुष्यमानुषशब्दयोस्तु षकारान्ता 'मनुष्' शब्दः प्रकृतिः। इयं च षकारान्ता प्रकृतिर्लोकेऽप्रयुज्यमानाऽपि वेदेषु बहुत्र प्रयुज्यते। अत एव भगवता यास्केन '**मनुष्यः कस्मात्? मत्वा कर्माणि सीव्यति मनोरपत्यं मनुषो वा**'[2] इति ब्रुवता षकारान्तो मनुष् शब्दोऽपि प्रकृतित्वेन निर्दिष्टः। वस्तुतो भगवान् पाणिनिरपि मनोः षुगागमं विधाय 'मनुष्' स्वरूपं प्रतिपाद्य मनुष्यमानुषयोर्लोकेऽलब्धप्रचारां मूलप्रकृतिमेव प्रकारान्तरेण निदर्शयति। यदि पाणिनीयसूत्रस्य यथाश्रुत एवार्थोऽभिप्रेतः स्यात् तर्हि अपत्यार्थादन्यत्र '**मानुषं हृते कुर्वन्ति**' शातपथिकं 'मानुषाणि च कर्माणि' इत्याद्यकविप्रयुक्तं मानुषपदमसाधु इत्येव वक्तव्यं स्यात्, अपत्यार्थस्याभावात्। अत्र तु 'तस्येदम्' (इत्यर्थे प्रयोगो दृश्यते, न चास्मिन्नर्थे पाणिनिना मनोः षुगागमो विधीयते। अस्मद्व्याख्यानुसारं तु षान्ताया मानुष्प्रकृतेः सद्भावे ज्ञापिते, तस्मात् तस्येदमित्यर्थेऽप्यणि मानुषरूपं सम्भवति।

यद्युच्येत—कानीनपदस्य कानीना प्रकृतिर्न कन्या, मनुष्यमानुषयोर्मनुष् षकारान्ता प्रकृतिर्न मनुरुकारान्ता, तर्हि भगवता पाणिनिनाऽयमादेशागमादिविधानरूपो द्रविडप्राणायामः कुत आश्रितः, न स कानीनपदव्युत्पादनाय कनानाप्रकृतिमेवोपाददीत, एवं मनुष्यमानुषयोः षकारान्तां मनुष्प्रकृतिम्? उच्यते—'शब्दं व्युत्पादयता न तदर्थः सर्वथोज्झितुं शक्यः' इत्युक्तं पुरस्तात्। तथा सति यदि हि भगवान् पाणिनिः कानीनशब्दं व्युत्पादनाय कनीनामेव प्रकृतिमुपादद्यात्, मनुष्यमानुषयोश्च कृते षकारान्तं मनुष्प्रकृतिम्, तर्हि शब्दार्थज्ञानस्य लोकायत्तत्वाद् अनयोश्च लोके व्यवहाराभावाद् अनिर्ज्ञातार्थयोरेवोपादानं कुर्यात्। तथा सति लोकेऽनयोरप्रयोगात् कश्चिदपि तदर्थौ बोद्धुं समर्थो न स्यात्। एवं च कृत्वा शास्त्रकारेणानयोरर्थोऽपि वक्तव्यो भवेत्।

तत्र भगवान् परमकारुणिकः पाणिनिरेकेनैव प्रयत्नेन कार्यद्वयं साधयति। कनीनादेशविधानेन कानीनपदस्य विलुप्तां मूलभूतां प्रकृतिं प्रज्ञापयति, कन्याशब्दं चोपादाय विलुप्तप्रकृतेः कनीनायाः कन्यारूपोऽर्थ इति च बोधयति। एवमेव मनुशब्दस्य षुगागमं विधाय नष्टप्रयोगषकारान्तं मनुष्शब्दं बुद्धावुपस्थापयति, मनुशब्दोपादानेन च विलुप्तप्रकृतेर्मनुष्शब्दस्यार्थं निदर्शयति इत्यहो एकेन शरेण लक्ष्यद्वयनिपातनमिव पाणिनेः कार्यं तस्य बुद्धेः परमोत्कर्षं द्योतयति। तदर्थं कस्य पुनर्विपश्चितो 'नमः परमर्षये पाणिनये' इति ब्रुवतः सश्रद्धं शिरो न नमेत्।

अनयैव च दिशा समासान्तप्रकरणे व्याख्यायमाने तत्रापि च 'विभाषा समासान्तो भवति' इति पतञ्जलेर्ज्ञापनमुररीकृत्य परः सहस्रं विलुप्तप्रयोगाः शक्या ऊहितुम्। तथा चोहितेषु बहवः प्रयोगाः प्राचीन-

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१. अष्टा० ४।१।१६१

२. निरुक्त ३।७

वाङ्मये समुपलभ्यन्ते । यथा **ऊधसोऽनङ्**[1] इत्यनेनानङादेशेन निर्दिशितस्य ऊधन् शब्दस्य **ऋग्वेदे बहवः** स्वतन्त्राः प्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते ।

नामधातुप्रकरणे पठितेन **सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्यो लालसायां सुग्वक्तव्यः**[2] इत्यनेन नियमेन 'दधिस्यति' 'मधुस्यति'[3] इव सर्वेषामपि अजन्तानां प्रातिपदिकानां सान्तरूपमपि शक्यते विज्ञातुम् । एतेन नियमेन ज्ञापितस्य सकारान्तस्याग्निशब्दस्य **सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमित्येके** इति शिक्षावचनेन अकारस्येकारोकारौकाररूपेण **प्रभ्रंशे** इग्निस् उङ्निस् ओग्निस् आदयः सान्तप्रयोगा भारोपीयभाषासूपलभ्यन्त इत्युक्तं पुरस्तात् । इत्थमेव **ओजसोऽप्सरसो नित्यं पयसस्तु विभाषया**[4] इति नियमेन सामन्यरूपेण सान्तशब्दानां सकारलोपे सति अजन्तरूपाण्यप्यूहनीयानि । तथा सति **तपोपवासनित्या**[5]इति चरकवचने तपसोऽकारान्तत्वमपि स्वीकृत्य सन्धिरञ्जसोपपादयितुं शक्यते । **सातिभ्यामनिन्मनिणौ**[6] इत्युणादिसूत्रेण विहितस्य मनिणः **संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्यः** इति नियमेन धातोरुपधाया वृद्ध्यभावेन बहुलग्रहणाद्वा मनिन्विधानेन 'अत्मन्' शब्देऽपि ज्ञापिते **गूढोऽत्मान-प्रकाशते**[7] इत्युपनिषद्वचनेऽञ्जसा सन्धिरुपपद्यते । अन्यथा 'गूढोऽत्मा' इत्यन्याय्यः सन्धिः स्यात् । अयं चात्मन् शब्दो महाभारतेऽसकृत् प्रयुज्यते । यथा **आत्मभूतैरद्भूतात्मा** इति शान्तिपर्वणि ।[8]

इयं च मया कतिपयैरुदाहरणैर्निर्दिश्यमाणा पाणिनीयतन्त्रस्य व्याख्या न प्रमाणविरहिता, अपितु भगवत्पादैर्वार्तिककारैर्महाभाष्यकारैश्चासकृत् विज्ञापितमार्गा । तथा हि 'नेष्टृ'शब्दव्युत्पादनाय **नयतेः तुक् च**[9] इति वाक्यकारीयं वचनम् । अत्र षुगागमात् पूर्वं गुणं कृत्वा षुग्विधाय या नेष् प्रकृतिः सम्पाद्यते सैव नेष्टृपदस्य मूलभूता प्रकृतिरित्यर्थस्य ज्ञापनाय महाभाष्यकारैरुच्यते—**नेषतिर्धात्वन्तरम् । कथं ज्ञायते नेषतिर्धात्वन्तरमिति ? नेषतु नेष्टादिति दर्शनात्** इति । इत्थमेव **सुधातुरकं च**[10] इत्यत्र **व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तम्** इति वार्तिकं व्याख्याय भाष्यकारैरुक्तम्—**तर्त्तहि वक्तव्यम् ? न वक्तव्यम् । प्रकृत्यन्तराण्येवैवंजातीयकानि** इति । कृताकङ्रूपाणीत्यर्थः । एवं तत्रभवता महाभाष्यकारेणानेकत्र प्रकृत्यन्तरं द्योतयता इयं व्याख्यानपद्धतिः प्रमाणीकृता । भट्टकुमारिलस्तु साक्षादेव ब्रवीति—

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१. अष्टा० ५।४।१३१
२. द्र० महा० ७।१।५१
३. मधुष् शब्दस्य प्रयोगः—मधुषा संयौति । तै० सं० २।४।९ ॥
४. महा० ३।१।११ वा०
५. सूत्र १।६
६. उ० ४।१५४
७. का० ३।१२
८. ३३७।१६
९. महा० ३।२।१३५ वा०
१०. अष्टा० ४।१।९७

यावांश्चाकृतको विनष्टः शब्दराशिः तस्य व्याकरणमेवैकमुपलक्षणम् तदुपलक्षितरूपाणि च ।[1]

एवं यथा सुरभारत्या विपुलशब्दराशिपरिज्ञानाय पाणिनीयतन्त्रस्य वैज्ञानिकी व्याख्या अपेक्ष्यते तथैव संस्कृतशब्दानामर्थबाहुल्यपरिज्ञानाय निरुक्तशास्त्रस्यापि वैज्ञानिकी व्याख्या विधातव्या । अन्यथा यथास्थित-व्याख्याया आधारेण निरुक्तशास्त्रे ये ये दोषा उद्भावितास्ते न साकल्येन कथमपि समाधातुं शक्यः । निरुक्त-शास्त्रविषये कीदृशी पाश्चात्यविदुषां तदनुयायिनां च भावनेति ज्ञापनाय तेषां कानिचिद् मतान्युपस्था-प्यन्ते—

तत्र खलु मैक्डानलो ब्रवीति—'यास्ककाले वैदिकपदानां वास्तविकोऽर्थो विलुप्त आसीत् । स तु यथा कश्चिदन्धकारावृत्ते प्रकोष्ठेऽभीष्टं वस्तु ग्रहीतुमितस्ततो हस्तं चालयति, तादृगेव प्रयतते । तत्र प्रयतमानोऽपि तमर्थमनधिगम्यैवैकस्य शब्दस्य बहुभ्यो धातुभ्यो व्युत्पत्तिं प्रदर्श्य तद्विषये सन्देह द्योतनाय वा शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते । यथा—विराट् विराजनाद्वा विराधनाद्वा विप्रापणाद् वा ।

अपरः खलु पाश्चात्यमतानुयायी डा० राजवाडे स्वसम्पादितनिरुक्तशास्त्रस्योपोद्घाते ब्रूते—

१—नैतन्निरुक्तशास्त्रं विज्ञानात्मकमपितु विज्ञानस्योपहासकम् ।

२—मयैतत् कथयितुं साहसः क्रियते यन्निरुक्तस्य निर्वचनविधिर्मूखतापूर्णः । सत्यप्येवमिदमद्य यावद् विद्यास्थाने प्रतिष्ठितमित्येवाश्चर्यकरम् ।

३—निरुक्ते बहूनि निर्वचनानि भावरहितानि । कल्पितसिद्धान्ताश्रयणेनैव तदीयानि बहूनि निर्वचना-न्यशुद्धानि । यानि त्वस्य शुद्धानि निर्वचनानि तेषां संख्या त्वल्पीयसी ।

अयमेव महानुभावः शुद्धाशुद्धनिर्वचनानाम् आहत्य संख्यामेवमाह—द्वादशशतेषु निर्वचनेषु प्रायेण सार्ध-शतद्वयनिर्वचनानि शुद्धानि सन्ति ।

इत्थमेवानेकभाषाविद् डा० सिद्धेश्वरवर्माऽप्याह—

यास्कस्य निर्वचनोत्साह उन्मत्तत्वसीमां प्राप्तः । इयमेव निर्वचनविषयिक्युन्मत्तता तस्य बुद्धिमपि नाशितवती । अतस्तस्य निर्वचनदारिद्र्यं विलक्षणं दृश्यते । एतेन गम्भीरदोषेण तस्य निर्वचनानि व्यर्थानि अनावश्यकानि सारहीनानि सत्याद् दूरं गतानि सन्ति । स यास्क एतावदपि न बुद्धवान् यत्कस्यचिच्छब्दस्य लक्षणयापि कश्चिदर्थः प्रथते लोके । स लाक्षणिकार्थस्यापि पृथङ् निर्वचनाय प्रवर्तते । इति ।

य एते निरुक्तशास्त्रविषयका केचन दोषाः पुरस्तात् प्रकीर्तितास्ते सर्वेऽपि व्युत्पत्तिनिर्वचनयोर्भेदं व्या-करणनिरुक्तशास्त्रयोश्च व्यापारक्षेत्रभेदमपरिज्ञायैवोद्भाविताः । एते खलु महानुभावा निरुक्तशास्त्रं व्युत्पत्ति-शास्त्रं व्याकरणवत् प्रकृतिनिर्धारकं शास्त्रं मन्वते । वस्तुतस्तु व्युत्पत्तिशास्त्रं तु व्याकरणशास्त्रमुच्यते । तत्रैव धातोः प्रातिपदिकाद्वा शब्दा व्युत्पाद्यन्ते । निरुक्तं तु निर्वचनशास्त्रम् । तच्च प्रतिशब्दं यथासम्भवमेकम-नेकान् वाऽर्थान् ब्रूते । न ह्यत्र शब्दानां प्रकृतिभूता धातवो निदर्श्यन्ते, अपि तु कस्य शब्दस्य कस्मिन्नर्थे कस्मि-न्नार्थे कस्माद्धेतोः प्रवृत्तिरस्तीत्येव चिन्त्यते । अत एव निरुक्तवृत्तिकृता भगवता दुर्गेणोक्तम्—'तस्मात् स्वत-न्त्रमेवेदं विद्यास्थानम् अर्थनिर्वचनम् । व्याकरणं तु लक्ष्यप्रधानम्' इति । अनन्तभट्टोऽपि भाषिकसूत्रव्याख्याने

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१. तन्त्रवार्तिक

आह—'निर्वचनं नाममर्थस्यान्वाख्यानम्'[1] इति। एवं सायणप्रभृतयोऽन्येऽपि भारतीया विद्वांसः प्राहुः।

निरुक्तशास्त्रमर्थनिर्वचनायैव प्रवृत्तम् न शब्दव्युत्पत्तय इति विस्पष्टयितुं मैक्डानलेनोद्धृतः सन्दर्भ एव इह प्रस्तूयते—

विराड् विराजनाद्वा विप्रापणाद्वा। विराजनात् सम्पूर्णाक्षरा। विराधनादूनाक्षरा, विप्रापणादधिकाक्षरा[2] **।**

इतः पूर्वमुत्तरं च वैदिकछन्दसां यानि नामानि छन्दःशास्त्रेषूपलभ्यन्ते तेषु केषाञ्चित् निर्वचनानि शास्त्रकारेण प्रस्तूयन्ते। अतः इदं विराट् पदमपि छन्दो नामेह निरुक्तः। विराट्विशेषणं छन्दःशास्त्रेषु त्रिधा प्रयुतक्म्। तथाहि—

१—दशाक्षरात्मके पादे। यथाह पिङ्गलः—**विराजो दिशः**[3]। एतद्विवृण्वन् हलायुध आह—'पाद इत्यनुवर्तते। यत्र क्वचिद् वैराजः पाद इत्युच्यते तत्र दशाक्षरः प्रत्येतव्यः' इति। दशसंख्या पूर्णसंख्याया उपलक्षिका लोके विज्ञायते।

२—द्वयक्षरन्यूने छन्दसि। तथा चोक्तम्—**द्वाभ्यां विराट् स्वराजौ**[4]। अत्राह हलायुधः—'न्यूनाधिकग्रहणमनुवर्तते। द्वाभ्यामक्षराभ्यां न्यूनाधिकाभ्यां गायत्री यथाक्रमं विराट् स्वराट् संज्ञा भवति। एवमुष्णिगादिष्वपि द्रष्टव्यम्' इति।

३—एकादशाक्षरात्मके त्रिपादयुते (११ × ३ = ३३ अक्षरात्मके) अनुष्टुभि। यथाह ऋक्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः कात्यायनः—**दशकास्त्रयो विराट् एकादशको वा** इति। अर्थात् यस्मिन्ननुष्टुभि दशाक्षरपरिमितास्त्रयः पादाः, एकादशाक्षरपरिमिता वा त्रयः पादाः सा विराड् अनुष्टुब्भवति।

निरुक्ते एषामेव त्रिधा व्यवहृतानां विराजामर्थनिर्वचनाय 'विराड् विराजनाद्वा' इत्यादि यास्काचार्यः प्रस्तुतवान्। तत्र विराट्शब्दस्य ये त्रयोऽर्थाश्छन्दःशास्त्रेषूपलभन्ते तान् लक्षीकृत्य त्रिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तेषां निर्वचनं ब्रवीति यास्कः। न त्रिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽयं विराट् शब्दो निष्पन्न इति तस्य भावः स्वाभिप्रायं स्वयमेवाह यास्कः या सम्पूर्णाक्षरा—दशाक्षरा सैका विराट्। अयमभिप्रायो विराजनात् सम्यक् दीपनाद् विज्ञेयः। यो हि परिपूर्णाङ्गो भवति स एव दीप्यते प्रकाशते। यच्छन्दो द्वाभ्यामक्षराभ्यां हीनस्तत्र यो हीनार्थको विराट् शब्दः प्रयु-

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१. ३।६
२. निरुक्तम् ७।१३
३. ३।५
४. छन्दः सूत्रम् ३।६०

ज्यते स विराधनार्थकत्वाद् विज्ञेयः। विगतं राधनं संसिद्धिः पूर्णता यस्मात् तादृक् छन्दो विराट् विशेषणेन निदर्श्यते। एतदेवाह—**विराधनादूनाक्षरा**। यस्मिन् पादे पूर्णसंख्यातोऽधिका अर्थात् एकादशसंख्यामितान्यक्षराणि भवन्ति तथाभूतपादत्रयात्मिकाऽनुष्टुप् विराट् शब्दवाच्या भवति। इममर्थं द्योतनायोक्तम्—**विप्रापणाद्वा**। अत्र विशेषेण आधिक्येन प्रापणं प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन् तस्मात् तादृक्पदात्मकं छन्दो विराडुच्यत इति भावः। एतदेवाह—**विप्रापणादधिकाक्षरेति**।

अस्माभिर्निरुक्तवचनस्य या व्याख्या कृता सा सर्वेषामपि दुर्गस्कन्दादिप्राचां व्याख्याकर्तॄणामनुकूला। इत्थमुक्तवचने व्याख्यायमाने यास्को विराट्शब्दं विपूर्वाद् राजृधातोः, विपूर्वाद राधधातोः, विपूर्वाच्च प्राप (प्र+आप्लृ) धातोर्व्युत्पादयति। तत्र चार्थनिश्चयस्याभावात् वा शब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते इत्याक्षेपो निर्मूलतां भजते। इत्थमेव बेल्वेल्करसिद्धेश्वरवर्मभ्यां येषां येषां निर्वचनानामयुक्तता प्रतिपादिता साऽपि दूरेऽपास्ता भवति। यतो हि ताभ्यां 'निर्वचने यास्कस्य तत्तच्छब्दस्य धातुप्रदर्शने तात्पर्यम्' इत्यन्यथा विज्ञायैव निरुक्तकारः तदीयं शास्त्रं चाक्षिप्तम्।

एवं च निरुक्तशास्त्रस्यार्थान्वाख्यानपरेण व्याख्यानेनैतच्छास्त्रविषये समुद्भाविता दोषास्तु निवार्यन्त एव, संस्कृतशब्दानां बह्वर्थता चापि विस्पष्टा भवति।

इदमप्यवधेयम्—पुराकाले सर्वे शब्दा यौगिका एवासन् यथा नैरुक्तानां वैयाकरणेषु च शाकटायनस्य मतम्। तेषु च समानार्थकत्वेन सम्प्रत्यभिमता पर्यायताऽपि नासीत्। सर्व एव शब्दाः सूक्ष्मार्थभेदेनार्थान्तरं भजन्तेस्म। एतत् सिद्धान्तज्ञापकोऽन्**यायश्चानेकशब्दत्वम्** जैमिनीयो न्यायोऽद्यापि जाग्रन् सुरभारत्याः पौर्वकालिकं गौरवं स्मारयति। उत्तरोत्तरं मनुष्याणां मतिमान्द्यात् यौगिकार्थत्वेन यदर्थबाहुल्यमासीत् तस्य परिक्षयात् यौगिका एव शब्दा योगरूढत्वं गताः। तदनु केषुचिच्छब्देषु धात्वर्थप्रतीतेः सर्वथा विरहे त एव रूढत्वं प्राप्ताः। एवं मूलतो यौगिका एवैकविधाः शब्दा यौगिक–योगरूढ–रूढभेदेन त्रिधा विभक्ताः। तदुत्तरमेतादृशोऽपि अन्धकारमयः कालः समायातो यत्र पाचकयाजकादयो यौगिका अपि कृदन्ता रूढत्वं सम्प्राप्ताः। अत एव कातन्त्रव्याकरणप्रवक्त्रा कृदन्तप्रकरणस्य परित्याग एव कृतः। तदाह कातन्त्रव्याख्याता दुर्गसिंहः—

'वृक्षादिवदिमे रूढा न कृतिना कृताः कृतः।
कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुधप्रतिपत्तये॥' इति।

एतेन सर्वेषामपि कृदन्तानां रूढपक्षे निक्षेपः स्पष्ट एव। इत्थमेव पुरा ये शब्दाः सूक्ष्मार्थभेदेन भिन्नार्था आसन् त उत्तरकाले मतिमान्द्यात् सूक्ष्मार्थभेदापरिग्रहात् पर्यायत्वं प्राप्ताः। तेन वैदिकवाङ्मये पर्यायत्वे प्रसिद्धिंगतानां जीवनम् अमृतम् पयः क्षीरम् प्रभृतीनां यावत् सूक्ष्मार्थभेदो न ज्ञायते तावत् वैदिकवाङ्मयस्य वास्तविकी व्याख्यां कर्तुं न कोऽपि प्रभवेत्।

अस्मिन्नेव च महामोहसमये काले 'अन्यद्धि व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तमन्यद्धि प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम्' इत्येतादृशोऽशास्त्रीयो वादः प्रादुर्भूतः। न हि क्वचिदपि प्राचीने वाङ्मये कुशलपदस्य 'कुशान् लातीति कुशलः' इत्येवंभूता व्युत्पत्तिरुपलभ्यते। न चाप्यस्मिन्नर्थे कुशलपदस्य क्वचित् प्रयोगोऽप्युपलभ्यते। नहि स्वार्थं परित्यज्य कश्चिदपि शब्दो व्युत्पादयितुं शक्यत इति प्राचां मतम्। अतः कुशलपदस्य कुशान् लातीति व्युत्पत्तिरेवाव्युत्पत्तिः। एवं च 'कुशानामाहरको मुख्योऽर्थः, पटुरिति तु लाक्षणिकः' मम्मटप्रभृतीनां मतमप्यश्रद्धेयम्। वस्तु-

तस्तु कुशलशब्दो वृषलवदौपाधिकः। दशपादीवृत्तिकारेणायं शब्द एव व्याख्यातः—'**कुश इति सौत्रो धातुः वैदुष्यारोग्ययोः। कोशति कोशनं वा कुशलो मेधावी, कुशलमारोग्यं च**'[1]। एवं प्रवीणशब्दविषयेऽपि द्रष्टव्यम्।

एवं मया यथाप्रज्ञं भारतीयभाषाविज्ञानमधिकृत्य किञ्चिदुक्तम्। प्रसङ्गादन्येऽपि तत्सम्बद्धा विषया उपन्यस्ताः। भारतीयभाषाविज्ञानस्य त्वेते मूलभूता राद्धान्ताः—

१. संस्कृतभाषैवाद्या मानवानां वागासीत्। देवा असुरा मनुष्याश्च त्रिविधा लोकाः संस्कृतभाषिण एवासन्।

२. आदिकालिका देवभाषा शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चातिविपुलाऽऽउत्तरोत्तरं मनुष्याणां मतिमान्द्याद् धारणाशक्तेः क्षयात् प्रमादादिदोषेभ्यश्च ह्रासतां गता।

३. अस्या भाषायाः सहस्रशः पदानि नियतविषयाण्यासन्। अतस्तत्तद्देशेषु तेषां तेषामेव नियतविषयाणां शब्दानामपभ्रंशाः दरीदृश्यन्ते।

४. उत्तरकालमस्यामेवापभ्रंशानां प्रादुर्भावाद् विविधा लोकभाषाः समजनिषत।

५. अत एवोत्तरोत्तरं विकृतौ सत्यामपि प्रायेण सर्वासु भाषासु, विशेषतो भारोपीयभाषासु देववाचा सादृश्यमुपलभ्यते।

६. यदा खलु पाणिनीयस्य व्याकरणस्य प्रवचनमभूत् तदानीं संस्कृतभाषा शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चात्यन्तं संकुचिताऽभूत्।

७. भारतीयानां मतानुसारं सर्वशास्त्राणामुत्तरोत्तरं संक्षेप एवाभूत्।

८. साम्प्रतिका सर्व एवार्षग्रन्थाः स्वस्वविषयाणामन्तिमाः संक्षिप्ततमाश्च सन्ति।

९. पाणिन्यादिमहर्षिभिः स्वशास्त्रे सर्वत्रैव तादृशाः संकेता विहिताः, येषां साहाय्येन वयं सुरभारत्या लुप्तस्यापि विपुलांशस्य समुद्धारं कर्तुं समर्थाः स्म।

१०. सुरभारतीशब्दानाम् अन्यभाषापदैस्तुलनायां क्रियमाणायां तदीयं प्राचीनं विपुलस्वरूपं स्वमनस्युपस्थापनीयम्, अन्यथा सामान्यरूपेण परिज्ञातया सुरभारत्या क्रियमाणा तुलना न लाभकारी स्यात्।

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१. द० उ० वृ० ८।१०९, पृष्ठ ३५९

ON THE OPPOSITES IN SANSKRIT TEXTS

Juan Miguel De Mora

This work has been inspired by the conviction that the identification and differentiation of philosophical constants (which because they are so, determine lines of thought) could be a contribution to the study of Indian philosophy under a new point of view. We believe that once the constants or coincidences have been identified in both the Indian and Western philosophical reasoning or propositions, it will be easier to delve deeper in the Hindu ideas of life and the world.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CRITERION

The nineteenth-century orientalists did not usually read Sanskrit texts with a philosophical criterion but rather with a philological one. Many are the philosophers of this latter part of the twentieth century who do like to read Sanskrit texts, not even in translation, perhaps out of fear of finding in them something which might alter their stereotyped concepts.

But if Sanskrit texts are not read with a philosophical criterion, the philosophy will pass by unnoticed. For example, if we read in the *Ṛg Veda*[1] :

> Yama first found for us a place to dwell in : this pasture never can be taken from us. Men born on earth tread their own paths that lead them whither our ancient Fathers have departed.[2]

it is possible, in effect, to dedicate oneself to the research of everything relative to Yama and to consider everything within mythology. But if the two last verses are analysed even superficially, it becomes quite clear that whoever wrote them had a precise notion of the

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1. All quotations from the *Ṛg Veda* are taken from Ralph. T. H. Griffith's translation thereof (*The Hymns of the Ṛgveda*) unless otherwise specified.
2. X.14.2.

value of history. For some, the whole hymn may be nothing more than a hymn to the god of death, or to the mythical first man who died, to be catalogued along with a boring series of hymns to remote gods. But in stanza 15 of the same hymn will be found the following :

Bow down before the Ṛṣis of the ancient times, who made this path in days of old.

which will confirm that the notion of the value of history is firm, solid, and neither accidental nor casual.

If in another hymn we read :

Yet in his youth old age hath come upon him[1]

we might think that it is dedicated to Indra and that one says strange things to mythical gods; we might, according to the verse that follows, understand that the image signifies that even though he is young, he has become gracious, good, and free from anger.

But the idea that in anyone's youth (god or not), old age has come, definitely implies an expression of the unity of opposites, of the simultaneity of opposites, and this is a definitely philosophical concept.

If we open the *Bhagavad-Gītā* at random, we read :[2]

> Fire and light and smoke or mist, day and night, the bright half of the lunar month and the dark half, the solstice of the North and of the South, these are the opposites.[3]

or we read :

> Fire and light, smoke or mist, day and night, the bright half of the lunar month and the dark half, the Northern solstice and the Southern solstice, these are the contrary elements.[4]

and afterwards we read as follows :

> By the first of each pair do those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman, but by the second does the yogi attain "the light of the moon" and returns then to human birth.[5]

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1. X.32.8.
2. At publication of this work, due to not having either a Sanskrit version or a direct translation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* fragment used here, we have put into English two translations which essentially coincide, one into French (originally that of Shri Aurobindo) and one into Spanish (that of José Barrio Gutiérrez).
3. VIII.24-25. Original translation by Shri Aurobindo. French translation by Camille Rao and Jean Herbert. Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1962, p. 214.
4. VIII.24-25. *Bhagvad-Gītā* o *Canto del Bienaventurado*. Traducción del Sáanscritoprologo, notas de José Barrio Gutiérrez· No. 9, Biblioteca de Iniciación Filosófica, M. Aguilar, Editor, Buenos Aires, 1961, p. 62.
5. VIII.24-25. Translation by Shri Aurobindo, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

or :

> The knower of Brahman goes towards Brahman through the first term of each pair; but through the second, the yogi reaches the "light of the moon" and so returns immediately to human birth.[1]

We could also concentrate on the second part and study the esoteric elements in search of an interpretation. But we have in the first part as clear and precise a definition of the concept of opposition as any presocratic Greek could give us of the same principle. We are in the presence of authentic philosophy, and not necessarily a religious one, even though it is mixed with religion.

If in the *Ṛg Veda* we read that fire (Agni) is called "the Child of Waters",[2] thus signifying the lightning that appears in the middle of a storm, we have found the concept of the unity of opposites, conclusion that the Ṛgvedic thinkers reached through the observation of nature before whose dialectic they found themselves. And, how did Heraclitus reach his conclusions if not through nature itself? After quoting a series of fragments from Heraclitus, a distinguished philosopher states : "all of these fragments must be understood from the point of view of the idea of the universe that Heraclitus had : solar fire, air, sea water, earth are opposites in that the expansion of one is done at the expense of the others, but opposites which, for the same reason, need each other mutually"[3].

It is a matter of knowing how to distinguish each philosophical proposition from its context, for the philosophical proposition has value in itself. The principle of opposites is utilized by Nicholas of Cusa "through the mystical intuition in which man is raised to the union of all opposites, that is, God",[4] and Frederick Engels uses the principle of contradiction to combat the ideas of Mister Düring. In both cases, the propositions are philosophical, regardless of their application.

In order to read Sanskrit texts with a philosophical criterion, it is necessary to remember that, as a respectable philosopher put it : "Man thought dialectically long before he knew what dialectic was, much the same as he spoke in prose long before that word existed".[5]

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1. VIII.24-25. Translation by José Barrio Gutiérrez, *op. cit.*, p. 62
2. VI.13.3.
3. Gaos, José : *Antología de la Filosofía Griega.* El Colegio de México, 1968, p. 116.
4. Larroyo, Frncisco : *Sistema e Historia de las Doctrinas Filosóficas,* Editorial Porrúa, S. A., México, 1968, p. 338.
5. Engels, Federico : *Filosofía* (Esquemática del Mundo, Filosofía de la Naturaleza, Moral y Derecho, Dialéctica), Colección r, Ediciones Roca, S. A., México, 1972, p. 160.

For all of these reasons, as well as many more whose exposition would make this work endless, I consider it necessary to fix the limits of Hindu philosophical reasoning before undertaking its analysis or interpretation. Both in the East as in the West, the philosophical propositions came before the systems : first, nature was observed, it was thought about and the existence of man was thought about and much later were the systems established. But that thinking is already philosophy, the very basis of all philosophy and of all systems. In order to pinpoint the degree of progress made by the Hindu philosophical mind in antiquity, it is necessary to examine the philosophical propositions themselves, independently of the nature of their use.

THE CONCEPT OF OPPOSITES IN THE EARLIEST TEXTS

The first Aryans who reached India, the Vedic men, had a clear notion about the existence of opposites. They understood that ours is a world of opposites, a world in which everything is double and has its opposite. And having that concept, they had, therefore, observed the interaction between opposites and in various cases, the process of struggle of opposites and some of its results.

If in Shaivism we have clear signs that the Dravidians thought the same, in the case of the Aryans, we have their direct testimony.

We do not pretend to be the first to have discovered this fact, for others observed it before us. Zimmer says : "The *leitmotif* of Vedic philosophy, from the very beginning of its first philosophical hymns (conserved in the more recent parts of the *Ṛg Veda*) has been, without change, the search for a basic unit which is the foundation of the multiplicity of the universe. From the beginning, brahmanic thought was centred on the paradox of the simultaneous antagonism and identity of the forces and manifest forms of the phenomenal world".[1]

But if they saw it, they did not analyse it in depth nor did they bring out all its importance. This is proved by the statement made by Zimmer to the effect that that *leitmotif* is to be found in "its first philosophical hymns, (conserved in the more recent parts of the *Ṛg Veda*)". We have before us the case of one more who only finds philosophical propositions when they are set in a philosophical context. The truth is, nevertheless, that brahmanic thought was centred before then on the "paradox of the simultaneous antagonism and identity of the forces and manifest forms of the phenomenal world".

The more authoritative philologists have reached the following general consensus regarding the *Ṛg Veda* : the initial nucleus thereof was formed by *Maṇḍala*-s 2 to 7 which

1. Zimmer, Heinrich : *Filosofías de la India*, Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1965, p. 268.

therefore, constitute the oldest part. Now let us examine some of the oldest hymns, far earlier, in the opinion of some, than those of the tenth *Maṇḍala* to which Zimmer doubtlessly referred in the previous quotation.

In hymn number 1 of *Maṇḍala* II, it is said that fire is "brought to life from out the waters, from the stone : From out the forest trees and herbs that grow on ground..."

We have already referred to the knowledge that Vedic man had, from his earliest expressions, of the process of the evaporation of water and of the fact that lightning (fire) comes from the clouds. Now we see that fire is also born of the rock—they evidently knew that knocking two stones together, sparks would appear—and also of the trees of the forest and of herbs. They knew how to make fire by rubbing two sticks—there are other references to this—and had observed the struggle of opposites which is implied by fire, which needs wood or herbs, but destroys them through combustion.

In the same *Maṇḍala*, problems so profound as the existence or inexistence of the gods are posed :

Of whom, the Terrible, they ask, Where is He ?
or verily they say of him, He is not.
He sweeps away, like birds, the foe's possessions.
Have faith in him, for He, O men, is Indra.[14]

The metaphysical doubt about the existence of the principal god, the recognition of materialistic attitudes which denied the existence of the gods, the contradiction in the concept regarding the supernatural, nothing less than all of that was already to be found in the oldest part of the *Ṛg Veda*. In another old hymn—about fire—it is said that he is "white at birth and red when waxen mighty", that the Seven sounding Rivers are "ancient and young", that the fire "set his voices and his streams in motion", that the same fire "bears in his breast the embryo of the father who engendered him"[2], that "Within the house hath sate the King inmortal of mortals" and that "Stablished in every birth is *Jātavedas*".[3]

In this hymn only, one of the oldest, there are elements enough to establish that the thought of whomever created it had observed the simultaneous antagonism and unity of forces and things, that is, the existence of opposites and their interaction. Furthermore, in this hymn, last quote, we already find the clear concept of the value of history, which in another older one is posed with greater clarity :

Never forget this word of thine, O singer,

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1. *Ṛg Veda* II.12.5.
2. *El Rig Veda*, translation by J. M. De Mora, Editorial Diana, S. A., México, 1974, p. 180.
3. III.1.4,6,9,10,18,21.

which future generations shall re-echo.[1]

Without going into more examples, we consider that we have sufficiently proved that Zimmer's statement is valid for the whole of the *Ṛg Veda* and not only, as he said, for the "more recent parts".

But we shall continue, so that it may be perfectly clear that in no way are those Vedic concepts casual, isolated or accidental.

In the same group of the oldest hymns, the following are spoken of : "near and far"[2], "few and many"[3], "all that is fixed and all that moveth".[4] Fire is considered "Father and Mother of mankind"[5] (Heraclitus would later state : "This world is and will be eternally living fire"[6]). "Man's truth and falsehood"[7] is mentioned, and it is set down that "The prudent finds it easy to distinguish the true and false : their words oppose each other".[8] Will it be necessary to wait for Aristotle to explain to us in his *Logic* that false and true are opposites ?

In other parts, we are reminded that the concept of male and female is also applied to divinities : "the Dames, wives of Gods"[9], "the shaking of things firm"[10] is mentioned to us, as well as "the caster-down of what hath never been shaken"[11]; we are told that "the nights he hath encompassed and established the dawns"[12] that "the blind man sees, the cripple walks"[13]; the parting of the "righteous and unrighteous conduct" is spoken of in the *Ṛg Veda*.[14]

The earliest Ṛgvedic man had realized what Heraclitus would say centuries later, that everything is and is not; that it constitutes an infinite web of relationships, changes, transformations, contrasts, modifications, of the struggle of opposites, in one word. And to make it evident that he had that concept, that his main concern, at the level of ideas,

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1. III.33.8.
2. III.40.9.
3. IV.25.5.
4. IV.17.10, VI.50.7.
5. VI.1.5.
6. Gaos, Jose : *op. cit.*, p. 24.
7. VII.49.3.
8. VII.104.3.
9. V.46.8.
10. VI. 18.5.
11. VIII.85.4.
12. VIII.41.3.
13. VIII.68.2.
14. IX.97.18.

was to bring those elements together, proclaim and understand them, it sufficed him to leave us his hymns, full of philosophical propositions, not needing to use the word "philosophy".

But the dialectical evolution of ideas continued in India. After the Vedas came the Upaniṣads, and in them, the problem of the opposites, besides keeping to the real world, grows until it acquires ontological and metaphysical proportions. Zimmer also has noticed this : "Affirming Brahman implies affirming the experience of liberation; affirming liberation automatically implies affirming slavery; and when that pair of opposites have been established, all other pairs of opposites are also established".[1]

And he goes on to say : "That One, which is the first, the last, the sole reality (this is the fundamental brahmanic thesis) includes all pairs of opposites (*Dvandva*) which proceed from her, as much physically—in the process of life's evolution—as conceptually, as logical distinctions of the thinking intellect".[2]

Other orientalists have understood this. Vecchiotti states that : "In this dimension, one learns the contrast between *ātman* and Brahman in terms of unity—identity—antithesis".[3]

In the Upaniṣads, beginning with the earliest one, the principle of opposites is posed, as I have just said, at other levels :

> There are two forms of Brahman, the material and the immaterial, the mortal and the immortal, the solid and the fluid, *sat* (being) and *tya* (that), (i. e. *sat-tya*, true).[4]

Here is unity in contradiction, expounded in a clearly defined manner, a logical consequence of the dialectical evolution of a thought which was already set down in the *Ṛg Veda* in all its parts.

Another, the ***Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad***, tells us :

Without *prajñā* the body does not make known pleasure or pain.[5]

Thus, it determines the existence of two contradictory sensations, and adds :

Without *prajñā* no thought succeeds, nothing can be known that is to be known.[6]

As we have just seen, there are in the Upaniṣads many concepts of the greatest

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1. Zimmer, H. : *Op cit.*, p. 357.
2. *Ibidem*, p. 301.
3. Vecchiotti, Icilio : *Qué es Verdaderamente la Filosofia India*. Doncel, Madrid, 1971, p. 24.
4. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*. 2.3.1. *The Upaniṣads*, translation by F. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 107.
5. *Ibid.*, III.7, Vol. I, p. 298.
6. *Ibid.*

importance, that have already been dealt with by others and that we cannot go into here. What interests us now is to prove the full knowledge the authors of Sanskrit texts had of the opposites. Here is more proof, which already implies a clearly expressed dialectical concept :

> And as a man, driving in a chariot, might look at the two wheels (without being touched by them), thus he will look at day and night, thus at good and evil deeds, and at all pairs (at all correlative things, such as light and darkness, heat and cold, etc.).[1]

That concept of the opposites, as we can see, is not a merely superficial thing. Here is one more element of proof :

> Having entered it, he became *sat* (what is manifest) and *tya* (what is not manifest), defined and undefined, supported and not supported, (endowed with) knowledge and without knowledge (as stones), real and unreal.[2]

The Upaniṣads follow a clear and definite line of ideas that the *Ṛg Veda* followed regarding the principle of opposites, even when religious reasons happen to combat it in some concrete case. Let us look at hymn number 72 of the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg Veda* which states :

> Existence, in the earliest age of Gods,
> from Non-existence sprang.

The *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* states :

1. 'In the beginning', my dear, 'there was that only which is, one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which was not one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.
2. 'But how could it be thus, my dear ?' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not ? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.[3]

This negation of a Ṛgvedic text reminds us of many polemics in Western history, and shows us that in India, as anywhere else, there are people who do not understand dialectic. The much repeated example of fire, so dear to the Hindus, would have sufficed to prove that what is can arise from what is not.

But if we go back to hymn 72 of *Maṇḍala* X, we shall have to remember what Hegel said : "The beginning is not pure nothingness, but a nothingness from which something must emerge ; therefore, also being is already contained in the beginning. In

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1. *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*. I.4. *The Upaniṣads* Vol. I, p. 277.
2. *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad*. II.6. *The Upaniṣads* Vol. II, p. 58.
3. VI.2.1,2. *The Upaniṣads* Vol. I, p. 93.

consequence, the beginning contains both : being and nothingness; it is the unity of being and nothingness, that is, a not-being which at the same time is being, and a being which at the same time is not-being..." And he continues saying : "The beginning, in consequence, contains being as something which recedes from not-being or eliminates that is, as an opposite of not-being".[1]

The *Ṛg Veda* sustains the same thesis, repeating it :

Existence, in the earliest age of Gods,
from Non-existence sprang.
Thereafter were the regions born. This
sprang from the Productive Power.
Earth sprang from the Productive Power;
the regions from the earth were born.
Dakṣa was born of Aditi, and Aditi was
Dakṣa's Child.

This is the equivalent of stating the Hegelian thesis very clearly : the beginning contains being and not-being, that is, being and nothingness.

Hegel, who undoubtedly did not study the *Ṛg Veda*, was not very correct in his judgement of the Orient (whose philosophy he disdained): "Those popular sayings, especially the Oriental ones, which state that everything that exists has in its birth the germ of its death, and that inversely, death is the entry into a new life, express in substance the same unity of being and nothingness. But these expressions have a substratum where the transfer is carried out; being and nothingness are kept separate in time, are represented as alternating within it, but are not thought in their abstraction nor are they, therefore, thought in such a way that they may be the same thing by and in themselves".[2]

Such a "popular saying" is none other than the very thought contained in Anaximander's fragment : "that in which beings have their origin, in that very same thing does their destruction come down to".[3] And just as Hegel quotes it, it corresponds to the transmigration of the *ātman*, an idea which, as we have already said, is not found in the Veda. On the contrary, in the part of the Veda we have quoted, being and nothingness are thought of in such a way that they are "by and in themselves the same thing" inasmuch as the mother and the foetus are, and there is no question of an accidental expression for, in another hymn regarding the principle (which starts off by asserting that "then was not non-existent not existent"[4] —which implies going back

1. Hegel, G. W. F. : *Ciencia de la Lógica*. Traducción directa del alemán de Augusta y Rodolfo Mondolfo. Ediciones Solar, S. A., Buenos Aires, 1974, p. 68.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
3. Gaos, J. : *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
4. X.129.1.

further than Hegel) it is said that "Sages who searched with their heart's thought discovered the existent's kinship in the non-existent". The *link* (Griffith translates *kinship*, Renou *Lien*, Chandra Bose *kin*), which means that being and nothingness are closely united. We might ask : Is the pregnant cow one and the same with the unborn calf she bears ? If being is born of not-being, is there not between them the same relationship up until the very instant of birth ?

Hegel says : "Pure being and pure nothingness are, therefore, the same thing. What constitutes the truth is neither being nor nothingness, but rather that which does not transfix but has transfixed, that is, being (transfixed) in nothingness and nothingness (transfixed) in being. But at the same time, the truth is not in their indistinctness, but rather in that they are n o t t h e s a m e (underlined by Hegel) but a b s o l u t e l y d i ff e r e n t, but they are at once separated and inseparable and immediately e a c h o n e d i s a p p e a r s i n i t s o p p o s i t e. Their truth, then, lies in that m o v e m e n t of the immediate disappearance of one in the other : b e c o m i n g; a movement where the two are different, but through a difference which at the same time has been resolved immediately".[1]

And the *Ṛg Veda* says :

Dakṣa was born of Aditi, and Aditi was Dakṣa's Child.

That is to say that they are a b s o l u t e l y d i f f e r e n t, that each one disappears in its opposite and that "their truth lies in that m o v e m e n t of the immediate disappearance of one in the other", etc., etc.

Continuing with the Upaniṣads, we find that another, more faithful to the *Ṛg Veda*, admits the Vedic principle, saying :

> In the beinning this was non-existent (not yet defined by form and name). From it was born what exists.[2]

On the other hand, in the *Muṇḍaka*, one can read :

> When the seer sees the brilliant maker and lord (of the world) as the Person who has his source in Brahman, then he is wise, and shaking off good and evil, he reached the higest oneness, free from passions.[3]

This text offers us a clear example of the identity of opposites in metaphysical synthesis, wherewith we consider the concept of opposites in the Sanskrit texts that have occupied our attention sufficiently proved.

(fragments from the book "*La Dialéctica en el Rig Veda*", edited by Editorial Diana, S. A., México 1978).

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1. Hegel, G. W. F. : *Op. cit.*, p. 77 and 78.
2. *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad.* 2.7.1. *The Upaniṣads*, translation by F. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 58.
3. *Ibid.*, III.1.3. Vol. II, p. 38.

INDO-EUROPEAN VERB MORPHOLOGY

AN OUTLINE OF SOME RECENT VIEWS WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO OLD INDIC

Edgar C. Polome

If we compare the verbal system of the various Indo-European languages, we find considerable discrepancies : the Old Indic verb, in its oldest forms in Vedic, shows three voices : active, middle and passive ; five moods : indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and injunctive and seven tenses : present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, future and conditional. The tenses themselves have a three-way distinction in number : singular plural and dual. Very similar is the Greek system with three voices, four moods (the same as in Indic, less the injunctive) and seven tenses (the same as in Indic, except for the conditional, but with a future perfect in addition) ; as regards number, the situation, is also the same except for the fact that only the second and third person forms occur in the dual. Compared with the system of Germanic, this system is quite complex : Gothic, indeed, has only two voices (active and passive), three moods (indicative, imperative and optative) and two tenses (present and preterit) ; besides there are first and second person dual forms. Strikingly, Hittite, the oldest attested Indo-European language, also shows a minimal system with two voices (active and passive), two moods (indicative and imperative) and two tenses (present and preterit).

In view of this situation, two attitudes are possible : the 'maximal' system of Old Indic and Greek can be considered as reflecting the original Indo-European situation from which the other systems would only have preserved a limited number of features—or—the 'maximal' system of Old Indic and Greek constitute a recent development in a part of the Indo-European speech community, in which other areas did not participate.[1] The

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1. Cf. especially K. Birwé, *Griechisch-arische Sp achbeziehungen im Verbalsystem* (Walldorf-Hessen : Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran; 1955).

fact that the Hittite and the other Anatolian language got isolated within this community at a very early date, and the presently assumed migration of the ancestors of the Germanic people as early as the fourth millenium B. C. might hint in this direction.[1] However, traditional Europeanists will object to this, pointing out that Latin, for example, has preserved clear traces of the old aorist-system (especially the —*s*—aorist) in its perfect system, and that the optative must also have existed in earlier stages of Latin to judge from such forms as *sim* or *velim*. In other words, the situation in Hittite must reflect an 'impoverishment' of the system, presumably ascribable to the influence of the neighbouring non-Indo-European Languages. This approach does not account, however, for puzzling fact like the total absence of trace of aorist in Germanic or the impossibility to reconstruct valid common Indo-European prototypes for definite 'categories' in the Indo-European verb, e. g., the future, or even personal endings, e. g., the first person plural.

It may, therefore, be preferable to look at the facts in a different way and to consider the Indo-European verbal system as a dynamic system in the process of transformation in the pre-dialectal and early dialectal period.[2] This would also apply to the system brought to the subcontinent by the Indo-Aryans and account for its remarkable archaic features as well as for its thorough reorganization in the course of time.

One of the basic distinctions in the Indo-European cojugation system is the contrast between a thematic and an athematic flexion. It is generally recognized that the athematic type represents the oldest formation; it is characterized by vowel gradation in the root (full grade in the singular and ϕ-grade in the plural and the dual), a ϕ-suffix and the primary endings *—mi, —si, —ti* and the secondary endings *—m, —s, —t* in the singular, e. g., the present forms **és-mi*, **és-si* (> *ési*), **és-ti* (ved. *ásmi, ási, ásti*) or **gʷhén-mi*, **gʷhén-si*, **gʷhén-ti* (Ved. *hánmi, háṃsi, hánti*=Hitt. *kwenzi*); the corresponding *secondary* endings are found in the *augmented forms* Ved. *ā́sam, ā́s* (3rd

1. Cf., e.g., Marija Gimbutas, 'The First Wave of Eurasian Steppe Pastoralists into Copper Age Europe'. In : *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 5 : 4 (1977), 277-338, esp. 305-8.
2. In recent years, this problem has received growing attention, especially after the publication of C. Watkins, *Geschichte der Indogermanischen Verbalflexion* (*Indogermanische Grammatik. III. Formenlehre* 1; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969); cf., especially, W. Meid, 'Probleme der räumlichen und zeitlichen Gliederung des Indogermanischen' (In : H. Rix, ed., *Flexion und Wortbildung*. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft [Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1975], 204-219); E. Neu, 'Zur Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Verbalsystems' (In : A. Morpurgo Davies and W. Meid, eds., *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to Leonard R. Palmer* [Innsbrack, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität, 1976], 239-254; E. Polomé, 'Creolization Theory and Linguistic Prehistory' (to appear in the *O. Szemerényi Festschrift*, 1980).

sg.— 2nd sg. *ásis* reflects an innovation ; cf.also 3rd sg. *ásit*) *ahanam*, *áhan*, *áhan*. The corresponding Hittite forms : *ešun*, *ešta* /est/, *kuenun*, *kuenta* /gʷent/ indicate the secondary nature of the augment, which is a dialectal development characterizing the Indo-Iranian, Greek and Armenian forms showing secondary endings and reflects a sentence-connective particle **e* used with narrative tenses. The underlying Indo-European forms are accordingly **és-m̥*, **és-s*, **és-t*; *gʷhén-m̥*, *gʷhén-s*, *gʷhén-t*. This suggests that the distinction between primary and secondary endings is a secondary development—an assumption which is further confirmed by the recognition by Thurneysen as early as 1883 that the secondary endings—which served to form the unaugmented 'injunctive' (Ved. *bhárat*= Greek φερε)— designated simply ***an activity related to a person***, without further consideration of tense or mood.[1] The 'injunctive' is *not*, indeed an Indo-European category but an *I n d o - I r a n i a n* use of the Indo-Iranian form consisting of the verbal stem= the secondary ending. These forms were actually a *zero*-mood which was used in Old Irish in the function of a present in the conjunct forms, as Watkins and Meid have shown : from a formal point of view :

O. Irish conjunct forms = IE secondary endings;
O. Irish absolute forms = IE primary endings;

the opposition *primary* : *secondary* is a dialectal feature in which Celtic did not participate.[2] Actually, as Kurylowicz has indicated,[3] a basic distinction was made in the earliest stage of the narrative tense between the reference to the moment of actual speech and the reference to the past. The primary endings result from the suffixation of the enclitic particle —*i*, indicating the *hic* and *nunc* to the basic 'secondary' endings. The so-called O. Indic injunctive accordingly reflects the Indo-European base form which supplied the later *durative* present in —*ti* and the imperfect provided (dialectally) with an augment.[4]

The system of personal endings lsg. —*m*, 2sg. —*s*, 3sg. —*t*, developed however, reflect the oldest stage of Indo-European. As Kurylowicz and others have indicated, in

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1. 'Der indogermanische Imperativ'. In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforshung* 27 (1883), 172-180.
2. C. Watkins, 'Preliminaries to a historical and comparative analysis of the syntax of the Old Irish verb'. In : *Celtica* 6 (1963). 1-49; W. Meid, *Die indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion* (Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1963). On the 'injunctive', cf. especially K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchronische Funktionsuntersuchung* (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1967).
3. *L'apophonie en indo-européen* (Wroclaw : Polska Akademia Nauk, 1956). 24-35; *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-Eurapean* (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1964), 24-27, 90-135,
4. Hoffman, *op. cit.* 35; Watkins, *op. cit.* 46,

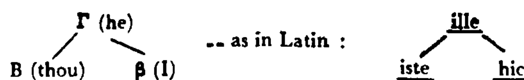
a descriptive pattern of speech the marked, ***positive***, member of the opposition between the persons involved is the 1st person, the person of the 'speaker', whereas the ***negative*** member is the 2nd person, the person of the 'hearer', the 3rd person being represented by all nouns.[1] Accordingly, a single nominal form could, in Indo-European, constitute a sentence, e. g., Latin *nox* 'it is night.' In such a sentence, the nominal form assumes the symbolic function of predicate as a verbal form with ∅—3rd person-ending : **nekʷt-ϕ*. As Watkins has indicated,[2] the fact that the —*t*— constitutes a current *nominal* enlargment of the root without specific function or meaning has led to the reinterpretation and resegmentation of **nekʷt-ϕ* as **nekʷ*— + 3sg. —*t*. This 'new' ending —*t* could then become productive as circumstances allowed. It remains, however, to be shown how an assumed original athematic paradigm of the singular of the singular **gʷhen-m* (*i*)
**gʷhen-s* (*i*)
**gʷhen-* (*i*)

agrees with the available data. Let us first point out the parallelism with another basic paradigm of Indo-European, namely that of the perfect. Here again, the analysis of Kurylowicz[3] has indicated that the base form was a nominal predicate of the type **ʷhené*— a verbal adjective, meaning 'occisus'— reinterpreted as a finite form of the 3rd person without ending and subject to about as a contrastive feature versus the present, after the shift of the accent to the root (hence : **ʷhóne*). To this base form the characteristic personal endings : 1 Sg. *—*ə̥o* (Ved. —*a*, Greek —*a*)
2 Sg. *—*tə̥o* (Ved. —*tha*, Greek —*tha*)

A second point is the original situation in the middle forms : the oldest characterization of

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1. Cf. J. Kurylowicz, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*, (1964), 148-150, where the relation between the three persons is illustrated by the following diagram ;



2. *Geschichte der Indogermanischen Verbalflexion* (1969), 49-50. Such -*t*- forms appear specifically with a number of roots of the type **T*(*e*)*R*- (where *T* is an obstruent and *R* a resonant), e.g., is Old Indic *kṛ-t*, *ci-t-*; one could also mention the old compound **sakro-dhō-t-*, reflected by Latin *sacerdōs* (É. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* [Paris : Editions de Minuit, 1969], 1 : 39; 2 : 188). Similarly, on the nominal original of 3rd person forms in -*s*, cf. C. Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb. 1. The Sigmatic Aorist* (Dublin : Institute for Advanced Studies, 1962), 90-106. On 'sentences' like Lat. *nox* 'it is night', cf. C. Watkins', Lat *nox* 'by night' : A Problem in Syntactic Reconstruction' (In : *Symbolae Linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kurylowicz* [Wroclaw : Polska Akademia Nauk, 1965], 351-358).
3. *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (1964), 56-72,

the 3rd sg. middle is the ending —*o*, as appears from Old Hittite *kiya*=Ved. (*a*)*śaya* (*t*). Just as θ→*t* in the active (with the addition of —*i* to specify the *hic* and *nunc* condition), —*o*→ —*to* in the middle. hence Hittite *kitta* = Greek κεῖτο. Actually, the old athematic 3rd. sg. with θ-ending of the type **gʷhén-*(*i*) has been preserved in an archaic verbal category of Indo-Iranian : the passive aorist of the type *Ṛ. V. jáni* < **ĝen-ə̯i, Avest. ǰaini*< **gʷhen-i* which consisted originally of the root— the neutral verbal notion alone— in the θ-person (—*i* is again the *hic* and *nunc* specification). The full grade of the root is preserved in the *TeRT*–type of roots, e. g., *reci*< **leykʷ–i, yoji*< **yeug-i, darśi* <**derk̂-i*, but *vr̥ddhi* has developed at an early date in *TeR-/TeT*— roots, e. g., *Ṛ. V. avāci* = Gāth. *avācī* (in view of Old Indic *jāni* : *Ṛ. V. jani*, the root may have shown *o-vocalism*).[1]

A further indirect confirmation of the original θ-ending of the 3rd person is provided by the parallel θ-ending of the 2nd person imperative e. g., Hittite *eš*, *ep*, *wek*, *ḫweš*. The formal correspondence between the 2nd person imperative and 3rd person indicative finds its explanation in the content of the persons in the speech situation of the *imperative* where the basic form of the paradigsm is the 2nd, *not* the 3rd person[2] : acccordingly, in Hittite, we find for the thematic conjugation :

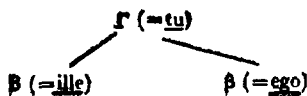
	Indicative		Imperative
3d sg	*neya*		2d sg. *neya-*(*ḫḫut*)
	↙ ↘		
2d sg. *neya-tta*		1st. sg. *neya-ḫḫa*	

to which we can compare Greek 2nd sg. impv. λεγε : 3d sg. λεγε-ι (with the addition of the *hic* and *nunc* particle).

The 3rd person plural of the athematic conjugation has also provided ground for extensive discussion : the coexistence of forms like

Gāth. 2d sg. *jān* <* *gʷem-s* (with full grade of the root and palatalization)
: 3d pl. *gəmən* <* *gʷm-ent* (with θ-grade of the root and no palatalization)

1. Cf. C. Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb. I. The Sigmatic Aorsist* (1962), 103; *Geschichte der Indogermanischen Verbalflexion* (1969), 52, 138-9.
2. Cf. J. Kurylowicz, *The Inflextional Categories of Indo-European* (1964) 240-1; C. Watkins, *Geschichte der Indogermanischen Verbalfilexion* (1969), 119-23. **In this case the relation between the persons can be schematied as follows :**



tends to show that the basic form of the ending was —*Vnt*, though it is hard to determine whether V=*e* or *o* (cf., e. g., Greek [Eol.] 3d pl. imperf. εον **e-sont* : Hom ἦεν=Ved. *āsan* versus *Ṛ. V.* V : 19.5 *san*, *Av. han*). In the nasal classes, the full-grade is well attested; only the reduplicative class shows *-*n̥t*, e. g., in Gāth. *dadat* (the present form *dádhati* in Indic presumably owes its —*ati* from the intensive, since the corresponding 'injunctive' in *dádhann* [*Ṛ. V.* I : 71.3]). The matter is further complicated by the occurrence of the third person plural in —*ur* in Indic, e. g., *àdadhur*. The parallel of Hittite —*anzi* in the present versus —*er* in the preterit suggests that the —*ur* forms of the 3rd person in Indic are an innovation (taken over from the 'intensive', cf. *Ṛ. V.* (imperf.) *ájohavur*, *ádardirur*, *dīdhiyur*, etc.—the contrast 'primary' —*ati* : 'secondary' —*ur* being inherited in the 'intensive' and possibly comparable to the parallel use of —*r*— and —*nt*— as nominal suffixes; one could also point to the dialectal alternation in 3d pl. pret. —*nta* in Luvian and Palaic versus —*er* in Hittite).[1]

It is well known that the presence of this full-grade vowel in the 3rd person plural has been the motivation for the shift of a number of athematic verbs to the thematic conjugation, e. g., *cinóti* (3d sg.) : *cinvánti* (3d pl.)→ *cinváti* (3d sg). It has, however, nothing to do with the development of the Indo-European 'thematic' conjugation. There are essentially four categories of thematic forms in Old Indic : (1) the *váhati*—type, a baryton thematic present with full grade of the root which occurs in all Indo-European dialects except in Hittite, but is nevertheless of recent origin, as Antoine Meillet[2] has shown; (2) the *tudáti*-type, an oxyton thematic present with θ-grade of the root, which occurs as a full-fledged category only in Indic and which results mostly from the thematisation of root-presents, e. g., *Ṛ. V. kṣéti, kṣiyánti* : *A. V. kṣiyáti*; as Louis Renou[3] pointed out, a number of them may also be derived from θ-grade nominal themes in -a— (3) the *ávidat*-type of oxyton thematic aorist, which has parallels in Greek (εϝδιε) and Armenian (*egit*), as well as in Balto-Slavic : it is obviously an innovation of this dialectal area, the point of departure of which seems to be a 3d pers. sg. *middle* with secondary endings

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1. Cf. M. Leumann, *Morphologische Neuerungen im altindischen Verbalsystem* (Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde N. S. 15 : 3; Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1952), 20-40; C. Watkins, *Geschichichte der Indogermanischen Verbalflexion* (1969), 41-43.
2. 'Caractère secondaire du type thématique indo-européen' (In: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 32 [1931], 194-203).
3. 'Le type védique *tudáti*' (In *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryès* [Paris : H. Champion, 1925], 309-316).

wid*—$^{e}/_{o}$ with transfer to the *active* on the basis of the addition of the 'empty' —*t*— (i. e., 1st sg. (*á*) *vidam*, 2nd sg. (*á*)*vidas*, after 3rd sg. (*á*)*vidat*; (4) the *áyat* (*i*)-type of thematic subjunctive : this appears to be the only inherited Indo-European form. As Renou has demonstrated,[1] it derives from an 'eventual', which, at an older stage, may have been 'non-modal', whose relationship to the ***athematic* form has to be evaluated in the light of the frequent contrast between the ***middle thematic*** forms and the ***active athematic*** presents, e. g., Ved. *hánti* : *jíghnate*, *síṣak* —*i* : *sác-a-te*, Av. *ǰain-ti* : *ǰaɣn-ənte*, *hiš*. *hax-ti* : *hač-ai-tē*.

Only a careful examination of the Hittite material provides the clue for the understanding of the original Indo-European system : while thematic active forms are quite common in Hittite in the *derived* verbs in —*šk*— and in —*ya*—, thematic primary forms occur only in the medio-passive and in the —*ḫi*— conjugation, which suggests that the ***primary thematic verb*** of Indo-European must have developed from the *middle* form and from the prototype of the Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation—a hypothesis perfectly in keeping with the prevailing medio-passive 'eventual' of Vedic, which seems to have served as the model for all the thematic formations of Indic.[2] Indeed, the older layer of the thematic verbs in the texts of the Old Kingdom is 'deponential' in Hittite, whereas the earliest —*ḫi*— forms are 'imperfective', especially with the iterative-durative suffix—*ša*—, which corresponds to the Indo-European suffix *—*so*— appearing, e. g., in the short-vocalic subjunctive of the sigmatic aorist in Homer (e. g., λεξομαι— with the function of 'future'— the suffix serving also as a basis for the Greek future whose affinity with the middle is well-established), as in the Vedic subjunctive middle of the *s*-aorist of the type of ***máṃsate***. Particularly interesting is the study of the oldest endings of the medio-passive *ḫi*— conjugation in Hittite :

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1. 'À propos du subjonclif védique' (In : *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 33 [932], 5-30).
2. The views presented here reflect those advanced by Calver Watkins in his often quoted diachronic analysis of the Indo-European conjugation system. It is obvious that in a controversial field like the reconstruction of the original Indo-European verbal system, strongly divergent opinions will be heard: while Francisco Rodriguez Adrados (*Evolución estructural del verbo indoeuropeo* [Madrid : Cosejo Supperior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1963], 599-617) conludes that the 'thematic vowel' is essentially 'un elemento añadibile a diversos temas para facilitar la flexión', with alternation -*e*/*o* as a reminder of its grammatical function, William R. Schmalstieg (in his forthcoming *Studies in Indo-European Linguistics* [manuscript, 1978] devotes a very penetrating study to the origin of the formant, in which he recognizes a pronoun **e*/*o*, originally with anaphoric function. On the other hand, Erich Neu ('Zur Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Verbalsystems'. In : A. Morpurgo Davies and W. Meid, eds., *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to Leonard R. Palmer* [1976], 249-254) though objecting strongly to some details of Watkins' presentation (fn. 58, p. 253), reconstructs a similar model (p. 252) for the development of the Indo-European conjugation system as is implied by Watkins' views :

	Thematic		*Athematic*	
	Medio-passive	*ḫi*-conjugation	Medio-passive	*ḫi*-conjugation
Sg.	1 —*aḫḫa*	—*aḫḫi*, older *aḫḫe*	—*ḫa*	—*ḫi*, older —*ḫe*
	2 —*atta*	—*atti*	—*ta*	—*ti*
	3 —*a*/—*atta*	—*ai*/—*i*	—*a*/—*ta*	—*i*, older —*e*

Obviouly, what this table reflects is an underlying system :

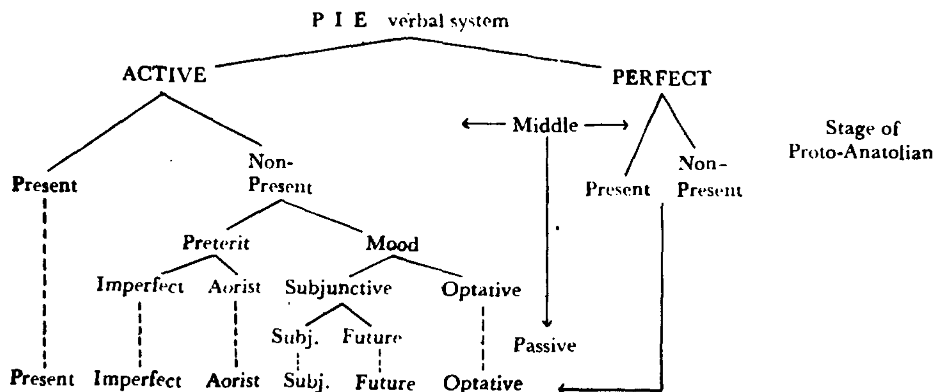
Thematic Vowel	+	Personal Ending	+	*hiç* and *nunc* particle
—*e*/*o*—		1 *ə̯o*		—*i*—
		2 *tə̯o*		
		3 *ϕ*		

in which the —*ta*— forms of the medio-passive 3rd sg. undoubtedly reflect the ultimate stage of the reshaping of the active : middle contrast in the 3rd person forms :

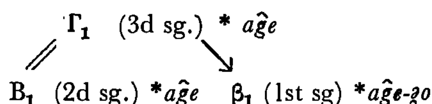
	Singular		Plural	
	Active	Middle	Active	Middle
(a)	—*t*	—*o*	—*nt*	—*ro*
(b)	—*t*	—*o*	—*nt*	—*nto*
(c)	—*t*	—*to*	—*nt*	—*nto*

At an earlier stage, it can also be assumed on account of the fact that the 2nd person is a special case of the 3rd person on the level of discursive speech, as Kurylowicz[1] indicated, that the 2nd person was originally also unmarked, so that the system of the thematic indicative in the singular was :

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1. *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1964), 240-241; Cf. also Watkins, *op. cit.*, 119-123.



This is, indeed, suggested by the Greek forms :

(1) *seĝhe-ə̥o → *seĝho (ə̥) o → ἔχω;
(2) *seĝhe → *seĝhe-i → ἔχεις;
(3) *seĝhe → *seĝhe-i → ἔχει,

the —*s* having been added to clarify the 2nd person, just as in the paradigm reflected by the Hittite 2nd sg. *neya-tta* 3rd sg. *neya—tə̥o* was added to differentiate B, and Γ_1. Similarly, with the use of the thematic forms in the active, the old 3rd sg. in —*e* (whose ending was actually *ϕ*) was further specified as such by the addition of —*t*, e. g., Ved *áduha*→ *áduhat*. This new ending became then the basis for a paradigm : 1 —*om*— parallel to the athematic : 2 —*es* 3 —*et*

—*m* —*o*—*ə̥o*
—*s*, versus the older—*e* , with the same vowel alternation : 1st sg. —*o*— :
—*t*

2d/3d sg. —*e*— (the origin of this alternation remaining insufficiently explained, since it can hardly be due to the laryngeal (H_2) as Watkins has assumed).[1] A partial merger of these two paradigms accounts for the Old Indic thematic endings :

	Primary		Secondary	
	—*o*—*ə̥o* → —*a*		—*o*—*m* →	—*am*
With the *i*—deixis	—*asi* ←	—*es*	→	—*as*
	—*ati* ←	—*et*	→	—*at*

The former was used to form the old Vedic 'eventual' in *-a*— of the type *kárati* : *kṛṇoti*; the latter apeared in Ved. *ávidat*, and both served as a model for the regular thematic paradigm.

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1. The statement (*Geschichte Indogermanischen Verbalflexion* 1969, 108): 'infolge des Lautwandels *e*>*o* vor $ə_2$ [wurde] die 1. sg. **ghʷen-é.ə₂o* automatisch ersetzt durch durch **ghʷen-ó-ə₂o*. Vgl. Kurylowicz, *Apoph.* 168', needs to be qualified. What J. Kurylowicz (*L'apophonie en indoeuropean* [Wroclaw, 1956], 168) points out, is that, in the southern dialectal area of Indo-European, we have originally a merger of the reflexes of PIE **e* and **o* into *o* before $*H_2(\begin{bmatrix} v \\ \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{back}]/\text{—}H_2)$; this **o*, then, is lowered to **a* whereas, elsewhere, the laryngeal is lost without affecting the timbre of the original PIE **o* in H_2o. However, it is usually admitted that, intervocally, laryngeals are lost without effect on the neighboring vowels (cf., e.g., F. O. Lindeman, *Einführung in die Laryyngaltheorie* (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 1970), 41-45.

The coexistence of thematic and athematic *ḫi*— forms in Hittite has also interesting implications for the study of its relationship with the Indo-European perfect and the athematic middle. If we take a base-form *g^w*hene/o*—, it can be interpreted in two ways :

I. *g^w*hen* $^e/_o$ + ϕ-ending (3rd sg.), which entails the derivation of 1st sg. g^w*hene/o-ə̥o* and 2nd sg. g^w*hen*$^e/_o$*-tə̥o*, yielding a thematic paradigm : trace of a thematic middle of this type still survive in the *Ṛgveda*, e. g., *stáve* (6x), but a substitute *stávate* already occurs there (4x). This reffects the innovation which took place in Indo-Iranian : —*o* + —*i*→ —*to* + —*i*; parallel in the primary endings : —*so* (+ —*i*) was substituted to —*tə̥o* on the basis of the equation :

$$\text{Active}\quad \frac{-t}{-to} = \frac{-s}{-so} \quad \text{Middle}$$

3d sg. 2d sg. , but —*tə̥o*, further 'specified' by —*s*

survived in the 2d sg. secondary ending —*thās* (actually —*tha* + *as*) ; the first person form also underwent changes, but the expected *—*o*—*ə̥o*—*i*> —*āi* primary ending appears in *Ṛ. V. stávai*, *kṛṇávai*, Gāthic *aojāi*, etc.

II. *g^w*hen—e/o* became the basis of paradigms like :

g^w*hon—ə̥o*
g^w*hon—tə̥o*
g^w*hon—e*

with polarization to the perfect entailing the shift of *e* (present) to —*o*— in the root ;[1] in the plural, the forms appeared in the ϕ-grade, as expected for an athematic form :

*g^w*hn̥—mé* (cf. *cakṛ—má*
*g^w*hn̥—(t)é* *cakr—á*
*g^w*hn̥—r(o)* *cakr—úḥ*).

The additional feature of reduplication was a later development in which neither all the dialects, nor all the verbal forms of Indo-European participated (cf. Skt. *véda*). On the other hand, in some paradigms, the vowel-altonation has been eliminated and we have either an oxyton ϕ-grade type **dhugh—ó* (→Ved. *duhé*) or a baryton full grade type **k̂éy—o*(→Ved. *śáye*). The second

1. About this explanation of the Indo-European perfect as the result of the 'verbalization' of a verbal adjective in-*é*: *g^w*hené*→(with accent shift) *g^w*héne*→(with -*o*- grade) *g^w*hóne*, cf. especially J. Kurylowicz, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (1964), 61-63; the *ablaut* is ascribed in *L'apophonie en indo-européen* (1956), 41-48, to the status of the perfect as a form *derived* from the present'. Further, cf. C. Watkins, *op. cit.*, 111-118.

type became productive as is evidenced by Greek στεῦται (*medium tantum*), *Avest.* (3rd sg. pret.) *staota* contrasting with thematic Ved. *stáve* (later *stávate*), whose athematic present (3rd sg. injunct. *staut*; 3rd plur. pres. *stuvanti*) is only active.

Many more features of the Indo-Iranian conjugation system could be further discussed along these lines., e. g., the relation of the Vedic sigmatic root-aorist (e. g., *aprās* → A. V. *aprāt*) with the 3rd pers. ending appearing in the Hittite *ḫi*—conjugation in preterit forms like *dāš* 'took' (that the forms were interpreted as R + suffix —*s* + *ϕ*-ending is demonstrated by the plural forms, e. g., *Ṛ. V. dhāsur* 'they put' !). Interesting also is the analysis of the optative forms : the current type in-*eyam*, though displaying active endings, occurs frequently with verbs with prevailing middle flexion, e. g., *Ṛ. V. aśema* (*aś*— 'reach') : *ā́ṣṭa*, 3d plur. *āśatu*, the 1st pl. ending —*ema* reflects Indo-European *—*oi*—*m*e/o ; the point of departure of the paradigm seems the 3rd singular with *ϕ*-ending —*oi*- originally a middle form, as shown by Ved. *huvé*; to this form, the endings —*ə̥o* (1st sg.), —*tə̥o* (2nd sg.), —*m*e/o (1st plur.) etc. appear to have been added; hence, *Ṛ. V.* (1st sg mid.) *huvéya* and, with apparent shift to the 'active', the 1st pers. plur. *huvéma* (32 x in *Ṛ. V.*) ; parallel to Ved. —*eya*, we find in Greek (Arcad.) —Οια (to which a new 'active' 2d sg. —*oi*—*s*, 3rd sg. —*oi*—*t* were added, hence Skt. —*es*, —*et*= Greek —οις, οι.

The conclusion is clear : the new approach to Indo-European morphology initiated by Benveniste and Kurylowicz, and developed by Cardona[1] and Watkins in this country and E. Neu, W. Meid, K. Strunk and others in Europe, shows clearly that the Indo-Iranian verb system besides striking archaisms, is a widely innovating system. From the oldest times it has been very much in flux as it will continue to be throughout its history.[2]

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1. Especially in his Ph.D. dissertation : *The Indo-European thematic aorists* (Yale, 1960).
2. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Symposium on the *Verb in India*, organized in Austin, Texas, in 1974, by the Department of Oriental and African Languages and Literatures, University of Texas at Austin (see E. Polomé, *International Journal of Dravidian Studies* 5 : 1 (1976), 195-201.

GENITIVE CASE-ENDINGS IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

Shyam Prakash

Present discussion is divided into three parts. First part deals with the different forms of Genitive Case-Endings in NIA, giving ample illustrations. Second part deals with the classification of the forms of these case-endings and the third part deals with these classifications from the historical point of view.

PART I

Let us take up Hindi. We find that genitive case-endings '*kā*' comes for singular masculine gender. '*ki*' comes for feminine gender and '*ke*' occurs as a symbol of genitive case in plural masculine gender. For example :

mohana kā laṛkā
mohana ki laṛkī
mohana ke laṛke

Braj has '*kai*' for masculine gender and '*ki*' for feminine gender, e.g.—

bā kai chorau
bā ki chorī

In Bundeli, there is '*ko*' for masculine and '*kī*' for feminine—

mohana ko moṛā
mohana ki moṛi

In Avadhi, masculine takes up '*kĕra*' '*kara*' and feminine takes up '*kĕri*' and '*kai*', e.g.—

oh kĕra/kara bĕṭvā
ohi kĕri/kai biḷiyā

Among Bihari dialects, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithili Angika and Vajjika are the prominent ones. We do not find gender distinction in these dialects. '*Kera*', '*keri*', '*kara*', '*ka*' etc. are used as a symbol of genitive case-endings in Bhojpuri, e.g.—

'*piyā keri sejiā milal baṛa bhāga*'

'mada keri bāsa lagala mori nakiyā'

'jahara ka churī'

'*Kara*' in Bhojpuri occurs with pronouns, e.g.—

'Okara'

'ekara'

'jekara'

In Māgadhī folkore, '*ke*' and '*kerā*' are found, but '*ke*' dominates—

''canana kerā khaṭolavā, ta resamẽ ke orahan he'

'*Kara*' comes with pronominal words—

'kekara'

'Okara'

Maithli too has '*ka*', but Vidyapati uses both '*kera*' and '*ka*', e.g.—

'mukha kera pāna sehore malina bhela'

'nandaka nandana kadam ka taru tara, dhīre dhīre muralī bajāva'

Bangla takes up '*əra*' and '*era*' for genetive case-ending. But, in Bangla; it is in synthetic form while in Hindi, it is in analytical form. Bangla case-endings are merged in nouns or pronouns and do not show gender distinction—

'āmāra sonāra bā̃glā deśa'

'rāmera kathā'

Pronominal words take '*āra*'—

Sābāra

tāhāra

ihāra

jāhāra

Oriya does not have number and gender distinction and only '*ra*' is used for genitive case-ending, e.g.—

rām ra putra aṭe

But, in pronominal words, singular number takes '*āra*' and in plural comes '*kara*', e.g.—

tāhāra

jehāra

amhekara

On the other hand, Marathi has got gender and number distinction like Hindi. In Masculine it is '*cā*', in feminine it is '*cī*' and plural takes up '*ce*' in accordance with the adjectives, for instance—

rāma cā mulgā

rāma ci mulgī
rāma ce mulge

In Gujarati, genitive case-endings are '*nā*', '*ni*' '*ne*', and '*no*'. Old Gujarati shows the use of '*taṇa*' even. Gujarati shows number-gender distinction. Mostly '*nā̃*', '*nā*' occur in masculine, '*ni*' in feminine, '*ne*' in plural number and the other remaining forms come in concord with adjectives, e.g.—

Surajanā̃ kiraṇa
kartānā artha
gaṇoni upāsanā
Sāhitya no itihāsa

Rajasthani folklore displays the use of '*kerā*', '*keri*' and '*kero*'. Let us have a glance at the description of Gauri's organs in a folksong of Gangaur—

dāṛam kerā bīja
Suvā keri cū̃ca
kāval kera phūla

But, now-a-days, only '*rā*' '*ri*', '*re*' and '*ro*' are found in the language, which are the abridged forms of '*kera*'. For example—

kāsi rā bāsi
campe rī doya kaliyā̃
agar re rū̃kha
pūnyo ro canda

In Punjabi, '*dā*', '*di*', and '*de*' are used as genitive case-endings, e.g.—

īda dā canda
rāma di kuṛi
rāma de puttaṛa

Sometimes, '*dā*' changes into '*ḍā*'—

sāḍā deśa

In Sindhi, one may find '*jo*' in masculine, '*jī*' in feminine and '*jū*' and '*jā*' in plural forms—

rām jo puṭa
rām jī dhī
rām jā puṭa

Pronominal forms take '*jo*' only—

himjo
hunjo

Moreover, in Garhwali, we find the use of '*kū*', '*ki*', and '*ke*', and '*kū*' occurs in masculine, '*ki*' in feminine and '*ke*' in plural forms—

rāma kū naunū
rāmaki naunī
rāmake naunū

PART II

Genitive case-endings used in NIA and discussed in the first part of this paper, are classified into five categories from the point of view of their phonological structure—

Category 1—*kā, kū, kera, kara, ara, era, ra, rā.*
Category 2—*cā, ci, ce.*
Category 3—*taṇa, nā.*
Category 4—*dā, dī, de.*
Category 5—*jo, jī, jū.*

PART III

Third part is concerned with the historical description of the genitive case-endings, classified in different categories in part two.

In Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar, there is a *Sūtra*[1] according to which '*aṇādi*' suffixes are used to mean '*idam*' in '*ṣaṣṭhyanta*', e.g.—

'*upagoḥ idam aupagavam*'

Similarly, there is a Sūtra '*idamarthasya keraḥ*' found in the Prakrit grammar of Hem Chandra. According to this *Sūtra* '*Kera*' is found in Prakrit in the form of *Taddhita* suffix to mean 'related to it', or in place of the suffix, meaning '*idam*', e.g.—

'*yuṣmākaṃ ayam yuṣmadīyaḥ*' into '*tumhakero*' and
'*asmākaṃ ayam asmadiyaḥ*' into '*amhakero*'.

Genitive case-endings put in first category seem to have originated from '*kera*'. Pischel in his grammar holds that '*kera*' has been originated from Sanskrit '*kārya*'. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee supports the view of Pischel in his book '*Indo-Aryan and Hindi*'.

Beames, to support the view of Harnley, puts in his *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* that '*kera*' comes from Sanskrit '*kṛta*'. Just as we find Sanskrit '*bhṛta*' changed into '*bharito*' in Prakrit and Sanskrit '*dhṛta*' into '*dharito*' in

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1. '*Tasyedam*' 4.3.120.

Prakrit, in the same way Sanskrit '*kṛta*' too turns into _*karito>kero>kerako>kerao>kerau >karau>karā>kā._

Literal meaning of '*kṛtam*' is 'done'. Moreover, it means 'related object' and 'related to this or that' too. Its synonymous word in English is 'done by'.

Genitive case-endings classified into category 2, seem to have originated from *Taddhita* suffix '*eccaya*'. Hem Chandra gives its meaning, explaining 'related'. Prakrit word '*eccaya*' means '*etatakṛta*' i.e. 'done by it' or '*etatsaṁbandhita*' i.e. 'related to it'. Words with '*eccaya*, suffix are found in Prakrit, such as *tumheccayaṃ* (*yuṣmākaṃ idam yauṣmākam*) and *amheccayaṃ (asmākam idam)*.

Hem Chandra advocates that '*ca*' can occur in place of '*ka*'. Marathi forms '*amacā*', '*āmacī*', and '*āmace*' have originated from Prakrit '*amheccayaṁ*'. Similarly, we find '*tumacā*', '*tumacī*' and '*tumace*' from Prakrit '*tumheccayaṃ*'.

Genitive case-endings put in third category developed from Prakrit suffix '*taṇa*'. Hem Chandra in his grammar talks of '*taṇa*' and gives *Sūtra* '*Sambandhinaḥ keratanau*' like that of '*kera*'. Several cases of '*taṇa*' are to be found in an old Gujarati-Rajasthani poetic work '*kānhaṛde prabandha*'. In colloquial language only '*ṇa*' was audible instead of '*taṇa*' and '*ṇa*' later on turned into '*na*'. Most probably this is the very '*tana*, which occurs in the Sanskrit words like '*purātana*' and '*sanātana*' etc. '*Purātana*' means 'related to the old times' and '*sanātana*' means 'related to the old tradition'.

Case-endings belonging to the fourth category are related to Sanskrit '*kṛta*'. '*Kṛta*' turns into '*kata*' and '*kita*' in Pāli. Punjabi '*kitā*' is masculine gender and means Hindi '*kiyā*' and this '*kitā*' has the influence of Pāli. Masculine '*kitā*' becomes '*kīti*' in feminine gender. Hindi '*ta*' turns into '*da*' and this '*da*' gives the meaning of 'relatedness'—

kitā>kidā>dā
kitī>kidī>dī>de

Again Punjabi '*dā*' turns into '*ḍā*', which is the main feature of Eastern Prakrit.

So far, I am unable to give my opinion about the origin of '*ja*' used in Sindhi, which is put in the fifth category in the discussion of second part of this paper.

DO THE SANSKRIT WORDS KALA (REST), VĀJA (FEATHER) AND STEGA (STAG) BELONG TO PROTO-INDO EUROPEAN STOCK

Sheo Shanker Prasad

1. KALA

The word '*Kala*' (कल) is used in the sense of sweet indistinct sound[1]. But in some of the modern Indo-Aryan languages it is used in an altogether different sense. It conveys the sense of rest, the reverse of which is still preserved in the Sanskrit word 'vikala' (विकल) agitated, restless.

Monier Williams thinks that it is a word of doubtful etymology[2].

I think it is a word of Indo-European origin and it is somehow or the other related with the English word calm, an adjective meaning peaceful, quiet.

"Calm—an adjective meaning peaceful, quiet, particularly used of the weather, free from wind or storms, or of the sea, opposed to rough. The word appears in the French calme, through which it came into English, in Spanish, Portugese and Italian calma. Most authorities follow Diex (Etym. wörterbüch der romanischen sprachen) in tracing the origin to the low Latin cauma, an adaption of GK. Kaula, burning heat, Kailiv 'to burn'. The Portugese Calma has this meaning as well as that of quiet. The connection would be heat of the day, rest during that period, so quiet, rest, peacefulness[3].

2. VĀJA (वाज)

Vāja is one of the rare words used in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.

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1. *kākalī tu Kale sūkṣme dhvanau tu madhurāsphuṭe kalaḥ*]. *Amar*. I.7.2.
2. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* ed. M. M. Williams, p. 260,
3. *Ency. Brit.*, 11th Ed. Vol. V, p. 59.

tata parigha-nistriṃśaiḥ prāsa-śūla-paraśvadhaiḥ |
Śakty ṛṣṭibhir bhusuṇḍibhir citravājaiḥ śarair api ||[1]

Here the word '*citravājaiḥ*' means '*vicitrapakṣaiḥ*' (variegated feather). In the *Nighaṇṭu* it occurs in the list of food and battle. Strength, vigour, energy, spirit and speed, specially of a horse, are the senses in which it is used in the Vedas. Besides this, in the *Ṛgveda* it is known in the sense of wing and feathers of an arrow. So Amara also takes note of the word in the same meaning[2].

In German we come across the word 'vogel'. It means a bird (a creature having wings). Its equivalent in different Indo-European languages are as follows :

O. E.	Foul, fowel, foghel, fuhel, fugel,
W. E.	fowl ;
A. S.	Fugol, a bird ;
Du.	Vogel :
Icel.	Fugl ;
Da.	Fugl ;
Swed.	Fogel ; Fagel ;
Goth.	Fagls ;
O. H. G.	Fogel ;
Germ.	Vogel.

Teut. type *fugloz, masc. probably for *flugloz by dissimilation, the form flugol pl. occurs in the Math.[3] and adj. flugol-flying. From *flug, weak grade of Teut. *fleug-an to fly[4].

All these words have similar sound and meaning. Thus they prove to be words of common origin. One thing is remarkable here that all the words have 'L' sound and I think that this 'L' sound in these words is something like the secondary affix 'la' as seen in the words like *māṃsala* (मांसल), *peśala* (पेशल) etc.

Thus we may break the word vogel into voge (wing) + l (having) = bird. The first part 'voge' is much nearer to Skt. *vāja*.

3. STEGA (स्तेग)

We come across the word 'stega' in the following verse of the '*Ṛg Veda*' :

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1. *Bhāg.* IV.10.4.
2. *pakṣe vājaḥ Amar.* II.8.87.
3. XIII.32.
4. *Concise Etym. Dictionary of the Eng. Lang.*, Oxford, 1901 p. 1399 and *Webster's International Dictionary of Eng.*, New Ed., London–1907.

Stego na Kṣām atyeti pṛthvīm miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma /
mitro yatra varuṇo ajāyamāno 'gnir vane na vyasṛṣṭa so'kam //[1]

Besides this, we also see the word (s)tega in *V. S. Stegān damṣṭrābhyām*[2] etc.

Here the word '*tega*' is nothing but an example of Prākṛticism in the Vedic literature. Here the 'S' sound has been elided. Such examples are not wanting in the epic and Purāṇic literature. The *Bhāg.* also makes use of the word *nyāsa* in place of *saṃnyāsa.*[3]

Sāyaṇa derives it from √*ṣṭyai* or √*ṣṭyai*—to sound, to be collected into a heap and renders it into the rays of the sun[4]. Griffith does not give the English equivalent of the word and feels content in using the same word in his translation[5]. Monier Williams considers it to be a word of unknown meaning[6]. *Skt. Wörterbüch* takes it in the sense of a beast, an insect[7]. Prof. Geldner renders it into 'frog' with an interrogation mark[8].

I think it is somehow or the other related with the English word 'Stag'—the adult mail of the Red Deer (cervus elaphus) and thus the translation of the Vedic verse will be :

'He passes over the broad earth like a stag'. Equivalents of the word stag in various Indo-European languages are as follows :

Lati A. S. Stagga (from Nonse) ;

Old Eng.*Staega.

O. N. Stegga, stiggi :

Icel- Steggr, steggi, (a he bird, a drake) ; Icel-steggr is said to be for *stigjoz lit. 'mounter' from stig weak grade of stiga- to mount.

Norw. Stegg—Cock[9]. It seems in Icel- the word originally meant one that mounts i e. male animal like the deer. Later on its meaning underwent change. Still it denotes a 'he bird'.

Thus it will not be unreasonable to assume that stega is a word of Indo-Eropean origin.

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1. *Ṛv.* X.31.9.
2. XXV.1.
3. *Kiṃ vā yogena sāṃkhyena nyā-sa svādhyāyayor api /*
   Kiṃ vā śreyobhir anyaiś ca na yatrātmaprado hariḥ // Bhāg. IV.31.12.
4. *Stegaḥ. Styai ṣṭyai śabda-saṃghātayaḥ....āditiaḥ ! Ṛv.*X.31.9. (Sāyaṇa's commentary).
5. He passes over the broad earth like a *stega. The hymns of the 'Ṛgveda'*—Ralph T. H. Griffith Vol. II, p. 1260.
6. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* ed. M. M. Williams.
7. *Sanskrit Wörterbüch,* Otto Böhtlingok and R. Roth p. 390 in best Insect gokarṇaga.
8. Geldner, Ger. Tr. Vol. III. p 179—frosch. (?)
9. Skeat, *Concise Etymological Dictionary of English*, Oxford 1901.

SECTION IX

Miscellanea

THE BALL-GAME : MYTH AND RITE

M. Biardeau

The attention of scholars has recently been drawn to the South Kanara District of Karnataka by such works as the regretted Gururaja Bhatta's and the excellent monograph on the *Bhūta* cults written by Sanjiva Prabhu and published as a separate volume of the 1971 Census. This hitherto little known part of India is well differentiated from the neighbourhood and is some sort of a paradise for a student of Hinduism, because of the intricate patterns formed by superior and inferior deities, Kṛṣṇa at the top, the so-called *Bhūta*-s on the last rung of the ladder and some important goddesses in between; moreover, religious life has preserved a wealth of rites and well-informed specialists—the so-called tantris—to perform them and guide other priests from top to bottom. Because of the stress on the *Bhūta* cults, one would be ready to admit a very strong influence of local ("pre-āryan") beliefs on Hindu life and their acceptance by Hindus at large, simply forgetting some of the names of these *Būta*-s : *Viṣṇumūrti*, *Brahmabhūta* and so on. Pending a more extensive enquiry into that field, one particular example is here taken up to show that in the most popular forms of ritual found in South Kanara, the same symbolism that pervades classical Hinduism also is at work.

Let us proceed from the known to the unknown. Two episodes of the *Mahābhārata* allude to some kind of ball-game. The first mentioned takes place at the time of the first meeting of the young Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas with the brahman Droṇa. The boys had been playing with a ball--*viṭā*—till they let it fall into a well and were unable to reach at it and get it back. They were looking at one another with shame when a dark-complexioned hoary brahman appeared nearby, duly sanctified by the performance of his daily rites. The helpless young princes with great hopes surrounded the brahman who was none else than Droṇa. The latter could not refrain from some unkind considerations on the weaknesses of kṣatriya might and the uselessness of their warrior skill; at once he was ready to show off his brahmanic superiority. As a matter of fact, he threw a seal-ring

of his into the well and managed to recover first the ball with *mantra*-inspired blades of grass, then the ring with an arrow, and gave the ring to the boys. As a reward for this feat, Bhīṣma appointed Droṇa as master of arms for the hundred and five cousins[1].

A first analysis of the text allows a few meaningful remarks: if the ball were just a toy and the young princes' game just child's play, shame—*vrīḍā*—of the boys could not be accounted for. It looks as if their honour was at stake. This is confirmed by Droṇa's words, who does not miss the opportunity of stressing the superiority of the brahman to the kṣatra : what has the kṣatriya power to do with a ball fallen in a pit? Then Droṇa, in order to show his own skill, sends a seal-ring to the bottom of the dry well and makes his task double. Why ? Nothing is said about the ball when he lifts it up out of the well, whereas it is explicitly mentioned that he gives the *mudrikā* to the wonderstruck boys. The verb used for both rescue operations is *uddhṛ-* : quite generally this is the verb used to narrate how Viṣṇu-Varāha, for instance, or any other symbolic figure of the Saviour, rescues the Earth from the bottom of the ocean after the universal flood at the end of the cosmic night. But a clear difference is marked between the ball and the ring : the former is raised out of the well through the power of *mantra*-s, which can be readily understood as the proper brahmanic power, whereas the latter requires a bow and an arrow, that is, the weapons of a kṣatriya. Droṇa then seems to be endowed with both powers, the kṣatriya's and brahman's.

Seen in the light of the epic background, the episode then receives an important meaning : it is a foreboding of the whole epic drama, where the ruling kṣatriyas are by and by reduced to a position when they should rely on a brahman in order to save the Earth from complete destruction and regain their royal power : Droṇa will teach them the *Dhanurveda* and will be the general of the Kaurava army for five days. This is quite an abnormal situation. That is hinted at in our episode through the dark complexion of the brahman, which he shares with Vyāsa, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Draupadī, all the key-characters of the world crisis, somewhat akin to the awful *Kālarātri*. In such a context, the ball becomes a symbol of the Earth, of this Earth that the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas will bring to the verge of annihilation. The seal-ring obviously enough is the emblem of Kingly power, the attribute of the kṣatriya king whose duty is to rule over this Earth.

Now, one may wonder why the Earth should be represented by a ball in the Indian context, where the earth is not conceived of as spherical. One first answer relates to its being used in a game between princes, in which the ball passes from one side to the other. Obviously power is often changing hands, but at the back of the whole scene there also is

1. *MBh.* **I.131.17 sq., Citrashala Pressed.**

the idea of this world being the play of God or of the *daiva* : numerous instances of this idea of the divine *līlā* (or for that matter *krīḍā*, which is exactly synonymous with *līlā* in the epic language) are found in the *Mahābhārata*, from the dice-game to the puppet-game of the young princesses at Virāṭa's court. The idea is too fundamental in Hindu beliefs to require longer developments. But there is another aspect that should not be overlooked : any round object evokes a sacrificial offering, a *piṇḍa*, the rice-ball offered to the *Pitṛ*-s for instance. In the epic sacrifice of war, Earth is the offering *par excellence*, the victim to be sacrificed and to be reborn anew, thanks to this sacrifice, with greater lustre. Actually this idea goes back to Vedic literature[1], where Varāha dives into the water to raise as much mud as he can hold on his snout and spreads it afterwards so as to make it *pṛthivī* ("the Wide One"). The epic and puranic cosmogonies make use of the theme, but Varāha in the meantime has become Nārāyaṇa and is identified with Sacrifice : the Earth he raises—*uddhṛ*—out of the ocean on one of his tusks is his sacrificial offering, so much so that Śaunaka tells Sauti[2] about the origin of the *piṇḍa* (that is, the Earth) that was created by Varāha : *mahāvarāhasṛṣṭā ca piṇḍotpattiḥ purātanī*. This cosmogonic symbolism pervades the whole *Mahābhārata* war, since the end of a *yuga* is enacted and another *yuga* introduced. If so, Droṇa's *mudrikā* recalls the royal *cakra*, the power of regulating the world and *dharma* through uninterrupted time cycles : though a brahman, he aspires to kingly status and the deteriorated condition of the *kṣatra* is the excuse for it and allows him to hold that status till his death ; but from the very first day of the war, he wishes the Pāṇḍavas' victory, that is, the victory of *dharma*, which should be the end of his royal power.

The second episode that is here relevant is the story of Pṛthā-Kuntī's adoption, as she herself narrates it to Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata*[3]. Whatever be the ultimate meaning of Śūra's promise to his father's sister's son Kuntibhoja to give him his first-born child—and sure enough, this is not in agreement with the usual practice of adoption—, Kuntī was given by her father to his cousin as a friend does to a friend (*sakhā sakhye*, which incidentally recalls *sákhā sákhibhyo*[4]). Her original name Pṛthā betrays her relationship to *Pṛthivī*, the Earth, since she is going to be Pāṇḍu's *mahiṣī*, main queen, and her sons will be the Pārthas, a purposely incorrect derivation to suggest their status of *pārthiva*, rulers of this Earth. Thus it is no futile detail that Pṛthā should have been given to Kuntibhoja

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1. Cf. *Tai. Saṃ*. VII.1.5.1; *Mai. Saṃ*. I.6.3 ; *Kāṭh. Saṃ*. VIII 2 ; *Śat. Br*. XIV.1.2.11 ; *Tai. Br*. I.1.3.18-19.
2. *MBh*. XII.347.2.
3. V.90.62-64.
4. *Ṛk. Saṃ*. X.42.11

when she was a child playing with a ball—*krīḍantiṃ kanduhastikām.* Once more the ball game is resorted to for suggesting the fate of the world : the ball is a toy in the hands of the princess, who in turn is the symbol of the Earth changing hands like a ball thrown from one to the other[1].

Some intermediary steps could most probably be found to connect this mythic ball-game in the epic with the ritual ball-game that is nowadays still practised in South Kanara at some places. However, we shall have to ignore them for lack of information and give two examples of such a game, for which data were directly collected during a field tour in 1978 (both are mentioned in Sanjiva Prabhu's book, and my visits to these places were prompted by its reading).

The first one takes place in Polali (Bantwal Tk) every year during the annual festival of the Rājarājeśvarī temple, in which three villages take part : Kariyangala, Amunje and Malati, under the leadership of two main Bant landlords and hereditary trustees of the temple. The game borrows its name from the ball itself, *ceṇḍu* [for the probable relationship between Skt. *kandu(-ka)* and Dravidian *ceṇḍu*, cf. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes*...*Wörterbüch*...s. v. *kanduka*]. The festival starts at *Mīna Saṅkrānti*, which probably marks the beginning of the year and coincides with the Spring equinox, elsewhere celebrated as Spring *Navarātra*. The game begins on the twenty-second day of the one-month festival in a large square field near the temple, where the car-festival, on the twenty-eighth day, also has its climax. It lasts for five days : at least people say so, but it seems to end on the eve of the car-festival, therefore, it should be a six-day game. It is all the more probable as the presiding deity is not the goddess herself but Subrahmaṇya, who has special affinities with the number six. The ball is made of two half-spherical pieces of buffalo skin stuffed with coir and stitched together. When the game starts, the two Bant leaders with their families and other trustees of the temple are sitting in the centre of the field and one of them acts as the umpire and kicks off the ball. The villagers—who are the actors—are divided into two camps of equal number, about five hundred men on either side. There is no rule, but each side endeavours to bring the ball to the opposite limit of the field. Each time the goal is reached, the ball is brought back to the umpire who kicks it off again. Every day the game stops at the third goal. At the end there is no winner, no prize, no reward of any kind. But it is said that the game is a memorial of the goddess's victory over Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa.

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1. There certainly is much more to say about Kuntī's adoption and her role in her adoptive father's house. Kuntibhoja is anxious to have his daughter attend to his brahman guests; as such he is to be contrasted with Drupada, Draupadī's father, who so rudely slighted his former friend Droṇa. In that also is the fate of the world at stake. Durvāsas' boon to Kuntī is the counterpart of Droṇa's enmity towards Drupada and his progeny.

Rājarājeśvarī is one of the most common names of the goddess who protects the royal dynasty. As a *kuladevi* of the king, she has her temple within the king's palace. Though here the fairly large temple of Rājarājeśvarī stands in an open space—but as the protecting deity of the "kingdom", she should also have a shrine on the boundary—, it is obvious that she still retains strong ties with the leading landlords of the place, who are the local chieftains (her priests are Koṭa brahmans), and the ball-game is consciously linked with her sovereignty over the territory. It may very well be due to her royal status that she does not come out at all during the festival, even as an *utsava-mūrti*. She delegates her presiding power to Subrahmaṇya, whose *ratha* will come next day after the end of the game to the field and bless it by his presence. One brahman informant stressed the point that this Rājarājeśvarī is the only presiding deity whose *mūrti* is *mṛṇmaya*, made of mud or unbaked clay, but this kind of identification of the goddess with the earth should not be pressed too much, at least in connection with the ball-game : the other instance of a ritual ball-game has no relationship whatsoever to a clay *mūrti*. However, Rājarājeśvarī is not the only *mṛṇmaya* goddess in the area : in the so-called Vīrabhhadra temple of Udayavara (Udupi Tk), the main shrine in fact is dedicated to the three goddesses Sarasvatī, Pārvatī and Lakṣmī, Parvatī being in the middle. These *mūrti*-s are of the same type as Rājarājeśvari's, made of unbaked clay and seated on a mud bench. The annual festival of the temple does not include a ball-game but another kind of ritual game that symbolizes a battle between two camps in memory of the goddess's victory : two parties throw ten burning torches made of bunches of dry palms at each other. After all one should not too hastily discard a possible connection between the goddess as Queen of the Earth and her clay *mūrti*.

The other case in point here is the temple of Abakke-Dhārakke in Kavatharu (Mangalore Tk). This again is a temple that has retained its ties with the local ruler, a rich Ajila Bant, whom the priest (a mādhva Shivalli brahman) calls the *yajamāna*. Abakke and Dhārakke are two sisters, possibly deified women, who have their *utsava-mūrti*-s in the main shrine on either side of a *liṅga* (Īśvara).

The annual six-day festival includes a one-day ball-game on the third day. It is quite similar to the above described one, and there also is a game with burning torches on the fifth day. But other features are noteworthy in that they refer to the same symbolism of the ball as being the Earth in need of a ruler, the local chieftain acting as such. First of all, in the temple courtyard, there is a small square shrine with a double roof[1], which

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1. As a rule, any square shape is another symbol of the Earth : the four sides point to the four directions of space (cf. the Vedic *uttara-vedi*). Almost all *Bhūta* shrines are square, thus recalling that the Earth and the underground world belong to *asura*-s or inferior deities. The wooden post will be studied elsewhere.

encloses a high wooden post: this is Uḷḷayasvāmi, who is the *Bhūta* of the Ajila, that is, his *kuladeva*. What makes it most interesting is that *ulla* in Kannaḍa means a ball. Uḷḷayasvāmi would thus be the Lord of the Ball, and the phrase could as well be the *Bhūta* version of Jagadīśvara; as such he is quite fit to be the *kuladeva* of the local ruler. If so, the ball once more is the figure of the Earth, and this Lord of the Ball has a square shrine, easily combining both symbols.

The ball theme comes at one more place in the ritual of the annual festival. On the second day, at night, the temple and all the *mūrti*-s are elaborated, and the Ajila comes in a procession from his house, bringing along a money-box shaped as a metal ball with a slot. He drops a coin inside and all the participants—that is, all people from the locality who acknowledge him as the local ruler—come one by one and do the same. Later the money-box will be taken back to the Ajila's house and the money thus collected will remain in his possession. When everybody has contributed one's mite to the collection, Īśvara receives a special *pūjā*, and then all the people assembled become "possessed" (by which deity ?) and spend the night in a state of collective frenzy, except the *yajamāna* and the *arcaka*. The game-ball will take place on the next evening. It looks as if the people had paid allegiance—in the shape of a tax—to the ruler and then received protection from him and his *purohita* during their collective trance. The recurring ball theme is thus clearly linked with lordship over the earth and its inhabitants in different contexts. Here the Earth ball has literally become *vasudhā*, the bearer and source of wealth, before its next day use as the stake in a mockbattle. In between the mid night and the ball-game, on the morning of the third day, the *utsava-mūrti*-s of Abakke and Dhārakke are put in two cradles (*toṭṭil*) on the first floor of a small building near the main Īśvara shrine. The cradles seem to be equivalent to the more usual swings; from there the two goddesses will preside over the games.

There is nothing particularly shocking in admitting a special link between the local landlord—since his sovereignty nowadays amounts to that—and a *Bhūta*. We may be reminded here of the asuric and rākṣasic Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata*, but also of the role of "good" *asura*-s and *rākṣasa*-s who acknowledge the superiority of the supreme God. The Ajila, having a *Bhūta* as his protecting deity, is in the same position : as a local ruler, he knows he is subordinated to a higher sovereign, and his temple is the reflection of this hierarchy : Īśvara is the supreme God and Uḷḷayasvāmi is one of his *gaṇa*-s. The local legend makes it very clear : *Bhūta*-s started coming to this place and settled down here because they found it pleasant. But, as there was a Jaina ruler at that time, they created some trouble till the king built a shrine and started worshipping them. Later another king had to build the Īśvara temple because the *Bhūta*-s wanted a *yajamāna*, Śiva being the *yajamāna* of all the *gaṇa*-s. Obviously the present local ruler, while keeping the

symbol of the Earth—every Indian ruler is symbolically a universal sovereign—, does not identify himself with Īśvara, the supreme *yajamāna*, but with one of Śiva's *gaṇa*-s—who himself is a ruler of the Earth. The somewhat subdued role of the goddesses Abakke and Dhārakke would seem to point to their status of deified mortals.

Thus in their ritual garb the beliefs and practices of the South Kanara are not at all at variance with the all-India religious beliefs and practices. There is a marked continuity between the general Hindu context and the local one, provided the symbols that are used here and there are properly deciphered. This is only one particular point that can be brought as an evidence of such a continuity, but the idea could be pursued with other themes and in other regional contexts.

MI-CHOS

R. E. Emmerick

The Tibetan medical compendium *Rgyud-bźi* 'The Four Tantras' draws heavily on Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* as one of its main sources. Chapter 13 in the second book is in this respect typical. It contains 100 lines of verse. Of these 76 are verses of nine syllables and 24 are verses of eleven syllables. The nine-syllable verses correspond closely with the Tibetan translation of Vāgbhaṭa contained in the Tanjur, but the eleven-syllable verses have no counterpart. They seem to be a Tibetan creation. They are somewhat clumsily inserted as verses 60-83 following upon :

de-ltar bdag ni ñin-mćhan gnas hgro źes/ [58]
rtag-tu dran-pa ñer hjog sdug-bsṅal bsriṅ / [59]

'One who continually applies his memory to such (thoughts) : 'Thus I must be or go day and night' will postpone affliction (for a long time).'

This corresponds to the Tibetan version of Vāgbhaṭa :[1]

de-ltar bdag ni ñin-mćhan-du
ji-lta-bur ni gnas hgro źes/
rtag-tu dran-pa ñer hjog-pa
sdug-bsṅal snod-du mi-hgyur-ro //

The Tibetan verses inserted in the *Rgyud-bźi* are prefaced by a line to the effect that the practice of *mi-chos* '*manuṣyadharma*' is the basis of all virtue. The *mi-chos* of the Tibetan verses contrasts with the *lha-chos* '*deva-dharma*' that follows them and again corresponds closely to Vāgbhaṭa.

It may be of interest to draw these verses to the attention of Indologists in the hope that they may be able to produce parallels from Sanskrit literature.

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1. *Sū.* 2.46cd-47ab (ed. C. Vogel), p. 119.

TIBETAN TEXT

hjig-rten mi-chos spyod-pa yon-tan kun-gyi gźi
chad-don bćan-par bya-źiṅ ćhig rjes don-gyis bsab
ṅan-las chad kyaṅ bzlog-ciṅ bzaṅ-las bśol yaṅ brćam
gźig-pa sṅon-la btaṅ-źiṅ phyis-kyi legs hphen bcah
zer-dgu bden-par mi-bzuṅ legs-par dpyad-nas bzuṅ

smra-dgu bsam-la smra-źin raṅ-gi mdo-ḍon bsdam
bud-med ṅag-la mi-ñan sbad-kha lci-bar bya
byams ltos mi-la ćhig dron mi-gźug lhug-par smra
ćam-la brliṅ-źiṅ hphral-la hgrogs-pa bde-bar bya
dgra-bo yan-par mi-btaṅ hdām-riṅ thabs-kyis hdul

ñe-hkhor śa-ćhas bskyaṅ-źiṅ sṅar drin mig riṅ blta
slob-dpon pha khu-la sogs rgan-rigs phud-du khur
yul-mi mj́ah-bśes hgrogs-dgos-rnams daṅ blo-sems bstun
so-nam źib-mor bya-źiṅ dgos dus rćiṅ-por spyod
mi bden hpham ṅos blaṅ-źin rgyal-na ćhod zin bya

mkhas-na dregs-pa skyuṅ-źiṅ phyug-na chog śes bya
mi-bran khyad-du mi-bsad mtho-la phrag-dog spaṅ
mi ṅan bsten rj́i mi-bya ban-bon dgrar mi-bslaṅ
gźan-gyi nor-la mi-hbags la-yogs mnah-la hj́em
mi-hgyod rdog gtad bya-źiṅ ṅan-la dbaṅ mi-bskur

sems-kyi stobs draṅ ṅaṅ riṅ yaṅs-śiṅ gźi bskyed-la
las-rnams phal-cher zla-ćhod dus-su blaṅ-ba gces
de hdra gcig-pur skyes kyaṅ gźan-la dbaṅ mi-hchor
bran-gyi lus kyaṅ skye-bo maṅ-pohi dpon-du hgyur

[60] (Continually) practising the customs of men (who are famous in) the world is the basis of all virtues. An agreement must be firmly kept, and after (one has given one's) word it must be truly fulfilled. Even though one has decided upon an evil act, it must be (skilfully) averted, and a good act that has been postponed should be (diligently) accomplished. A (careful) examination must first be made and next a good shot must be prepared.

If one has not truly understood all that has been said one must understand it after looking into it well. [65] If one has reflected upon all that has been spoken one should speak and summarise one's own essential meaning. One must not listen to the voice of a woman but one's own inciting words must be considered seriously.

In the case of a person who is affectionate (to oneself or who) looks (expectantly to oneself), one should not allow hot words but should speak freely. To the extent that one is secure, one should make partings and meetings happy.

Not having let one's enemies go free (but taking) a long time to choose (one's opportunity), one must vanquish them by cunning.

[70] The circle of those close to one is to be taken care of with friendship, and an earlier kindness is to be looked upon with a far (-seeing) eye (and so not forgotten). Respect should be paid to such old people as teacher, father, and uncle. One must agree in mind with a countryman, a friend, and those with whom it is necessary to associate.

Agriculture must be practised precisely, but at times when it is necessary (to celebrate, it is to be) performed roughly (without avarice).

One must recognise when a sincere man is being defeated, and if one is winning one must observe due measure.

[75] If one is learned, one must lay aside pride, and if one is rich, one must recognise what is sufficient. One must not despise one's servants, and one must avoid envy of the high. One should not keep the company of nor oppress evil men. One should not make enemies of Buddhists and Bon-pos. One must not covet the possessions of another, and one must avoid retribution and oaths (that harm another). One must direct one's steps (so that one will) not regret (the course taken), and one should not entrust power to an evil man.

[80] (By having a very) upright strength of mind and extensive long-suffering, one must increase the basis (of one's intellectual power), and it is preferable to take one's actions for the most part at a time (within) the limit of a month. Such (a person), even though he has become alone, does not pass into the power of another (but) even if (he has) the body of a servant he will become master over many beings.

THE GAṆITAPAÑCAVIṂŚĪ OF ŚRĪDHARA

David Pingree

Śrīdhara[1] is the name of a very well known mathematician. His *Triśatikā* was published in 1899[2] and partially translated into English in 1912/13.[3] Despite its title, the work as presently preserved is constituted by only some 180 verses, of which 107 contain examples (*udāharaṇāni*). The first verse of the *Triśatikā* proclaims the work to be an abbreviation of a longer text on the same subject also written by Śrīdhara :

natvā śivaṃ svaracita-
pāṭyā gaṇitasya sāram uddhṛtya/
lokavyavahārāya
pravakṣyati śrīdharācāryaḥ//

In 1959 a second, incomplete treatise by Śrīdhara was published under the title *Pāṭīgaṇita*.[4] The occurrence in this text of most of the verses of the *Triśatikā* led the editor to consider it to be the larger work which the *Triśatikā* epitomized. But even in the first verse of the *Pāṭīgaṇita* Śrīdhara claims to be writing concisely :

sṛṣṭisthitilayahetuṃ
jagatām ajam iśvaraṃ praṇamyāham/
lokavyavahārārthaṃ
gaṇitaṃ saṅkṣepato vakṣye//

And, while later commentaries have sometimes called Śrīdhara's longer work the *Navaśatī*,

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1. D. Pingree in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 13, New York 1975, pp. 597-598.
2. Edited by Sudhākara Dvivedin, Benares 1899.
3. N. Ramanujacharia and G. R. Kaye, "The *Triśatikā* of Śrīdharācārya", *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, ser. 3, 13 (1912-13), 203-217.
4. Edited with an English translation by K. S. Shukla, Lucknow 1959; a Russian translation and commentary are given by A. Volodarski and O. F. Volkovoi in *Fizikomatematičeskie Nauki v Stranakh Vostoka*, Moskva 1966, pp. 141-246.

the extant portion of the *Pāṭīgaṇita* has only 251 verses, of which 133 contain examples; and not very large number of verses is lost. No easy solution to this problem of the traditional sizes of the two works as reflected in the popular name of each is apparent to me.

The situation is complicated by my discovery in a manuscript in London of a large fragment of a third mathematical text by Śrīdhara.[1] This also, in its first verse, claims to be an epitome of Śrīdhara's longer work :

śivaṃ praṇamya svakṛta-
pāṭyāḥ sāraṃ pravakṣyati/
ślokānāṃ pañcaviṃśatyā
śrīdharaḥ prakaṭārthayā//

However, none of its verses, either *sūtra* or *udāharaṇa*, is found verbatim in either the *Pāṭīgaṇita* or the *Triśatikā*, though naturally many parallels may be noted. Moreover, the text, of which we have about three-fifths, contains fifty-three verses, of which 20 comprise *udāharaṇāni*. This means that the full text consisted of about eighty-five or ninety verses rather than the twenty-five indicated by the title.

The manuscript, which belongs to the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, where its shelfmark is G. 111. f. comprises three folia. That bearing the number two is the second leaf of another manuscript which contained Śrīdhara's *Triśatikā*. It contains *udāharaṇa* 7b : *ca kathaya saṅkṣipya* (p. 7 Dvivedin) to *udāharaṇa* 22a : *pañca purā* (p. 13 Dvivedin) of that work; the entire manuscript presumably consisted of eight folia. The two folia of the *Gaṇitapañcaviṃśī*, numbered one and three, have about twenty-five lines to a page and about seventy *akṣara*-s to a line.

Before presenting a tentative edition of this fragment of the *Gaṇitapañcaviṃśī*, it may be useful to note some new facts that affect the dating of Śrīdhara. Shukla, in the introduction to his edition of the *Pāṭīgaṇita*, with apparent persuasiveness argues that Śrīdhara lived after Mahāvīra (ca. 850) and before Āryabhaṭa II (ca. 950). However, we read in the commentary, *Prakaṭārthadīpikā*, of Govindasvāmin (*ca.* 800/850)[2] on the *uttarabhāga* of the *Horāśāstra* of Parāśara (on 14, 97) : *atra śrīdharācāryaḥ saṅkalitaparikaramāha*—

1. No manuscript has yet been found of his work on algebra which was known to Bhāskara II and his commentators.
2. D. Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, series A, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1971, pp. 143b-144a, I have used the manuscripts Pingree 9 and Pingree 10.

saikapadāhatapadadalam
ekādicayena bhavati saṅkalitam iti/

This is the first *sūtra* of the *Triśatikā*. Its being quoted by Govindasvāmin clearly indicates that Śrīdhara wrote before *ca.* 800—probably during the eighth century.

In the *Gaṇitapañcaviṃśī* Śrīdhara refers to one predecessor, named Nārmada (*sūtra* 23); this mathematician does not seem to be mentioned in any other source, though an astronomer named Nārmada is mentioned in verse 22 of the *Grahajñāna* of Āśādhara (fl. 1032). Finally, there seems to be no relation between Śrīdhara's *Gaṇitapañcaviṃśī* and the *Gaṇitapañcaviṃśatikā* composed by Śambhudāsa in 1428.

[f.1] ओं ॥

शिवं प्रणम्य स्वकृत-
पाट्याः सारं प्रवक्ष्यति ।
श्लोकानां पंचविंशत्या
श्रीधरः प्रकटार्थया ॥१॥

पंचगुंजो भवेन्माषो
माषैः कर्षो नृपप्रमैः ।
स सुवर्णः सुवर्णस्य
तैश्चतुर्भिः पलं स्मृतम् ॥२॥

वल्लस्त्रिगुंजस्तैर्गद्या—
णकः षोडशभिः स्मृतः ।
सार्द्धं वेधो ऽङ्गुलानीणि
कुटपे दैर्घ्यविस्तृतिः ॥(३) ॥

चतुर्भिः कुटपैः प्रस्थः
प्रस्थैश्चतुर्भिराढकः ।
चतुर्भिराढकैर्द्रोणः
खारिर्द्रोणैर्नृपप्रमैः ॥४॥

वराटकानां विंशत्या
काकिणी तच्चतुष्टयम् ।
पणस्ते षोडश द्रम्म-
स्ते षोडश च निष्ककः ॥५॥

त्रयोऽङ्गुलं यवा ऊर्ध्वा-
स्तच्चतुर्विंशतिः करः ।
दण्डश्चतुष्करः क्रोश-
स्तत्सहस्रद्वयं भवेत् ॥६॥

योजनं स्याच्चतुः क्रोशं
वंशो हस्ता दशाष्ट वा ।
निवर्त्तनं तद्विंशत्या
क्षेत्रं बद्धं चतुर्भुजम् ॥७॥

एकं दश शतं तस्मात्
सहस्रमयुतं ततः ।
लक्षं च प्रयुतं कोटि-
रर्बुदं पद्ममेव च ।।८।।

खर्वं निखर्वं च महा-
पद्मं[1] शङ्कुः सरित्पतिः ।
अन्त्यं मध्यं परार्द्धं[2] स्युः
संज्ञा दशगुणोत्तराः ।।९।।

१००००००००००००००००० इति संज्ञाः ।।

सङ्कलितव्यवकलितयोः सूत्रम् ।।

योगान्तरे यथास्थानं
चेत्खेनाविकृतो भवेत् ।

उदाहरणम् ।।

षष्टिर्नवार्काः किं युक्ताः
स्युः शताद्वा विशोधिताः ।

न्यासः ।। ६०।९।१२।।योगे जातं ८१ । एतच्छताद्वा विशोध्य शेषं ।१९।। इति सङ्कलितव्यवकलिते ।।

गुणने सूत्रम् ।

गुण्यस्यान्त्यादिकानङ्कान्
गुणयेद्गुणकेन तु ।। (१० ।।)

उदाहरणम् ।।

जिनैर्नगार्काः किं निघ्ना-
स्त्र्यर्कैः किं दन्तभूनृपाः ।।(११।)

न्यासः ।। गुण्य १२७ गुण २४ गुण्य १६१३२ गुण १२३ । गुणना (ज्) ज्ञाते फले । ३०४८ । १९८४२३६ ।।
इति गुणकारः ।।

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१. पद्मे
२. परार्द्धे

भागहारे सूत्रम् ॥

भागे भाज्याद्धरो येन
हृतः शुध्येत् फलं तु सः ॥

उदाहरणम् ॥ प्राग्लब्धगुणफलस्वगुणच्छेदयोर्भागार्थम् ॥)

न्यासः ॥ भाज्य ३०४८ हर २४ भाज्य १९८४२३६ हर १२३ । भाजनाल्लब्धौ गुण्यौ १२७ । १६१३२ । इति भागहारः ॥

वर्गघनयोः सूत्रम् ॥

समद्विघातो वर्गः स्यात्
समत्रयहतिर्घनः ॥ (११॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

कौ नवानां त्रिसूर्याणां
स्यातां वर्गघनौ सखे ।

										घ								
[न्यासः] ॥	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९
	१	४	९	१६	२५	३६	४९	६४	८१	१	८	२७	६४	१२५	२१६	३४३	५१२	७२९

न्यासः ॥ ९ । १२३ ॥ जातौ वर्गौ ८१ । १५१२९ । घनौ च ७२९ । १८६०८६७ ॥ इति वर्गघनौ ॥

वर्गमूले सूत्रम् ॥

त्यक्त्वान्त्याद्विषमाद्वर्गं
द्विघ्नमूलहृते समे ।
लब्धवर्गं तदाद्योनात्
त्यक्त्वाप्तं द्विगुणं न्यसेत् ।
पंक्त्यां भक्ते समे भक्त्ये-
ति मुहुस्तद्दलं पदम् ॥ (१२ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥ प्राग्वर्गौ । मूलार्थं न्यासः ॥ ८१ । १५१२९ । लब्धे पदे ।९॥१२३॥ इति वर्गमूलम् ।

घनमूले सूत्रम् ॥

आद्यं घनोऽघनद्वन्द्व-
मित्यन्ताद् घनतो घनम् ।
त्यक्त्वा पृथक् पदं कृत्या
त्रिघ्न्या स्थाप्यं भजेत् फलम् ॥ १(३ ॥)
पंक्त्यां न्यसेदस्य वर्ग
तदाद्या अन्त्यताडितम् ।
जह्याद् घनं च तत्पूर्वान्
मूलायैवं पुनर्विधिः ॥ (१४ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥ प्राग्घनौ । मूलार्थः न्यासः ॥ ७२९ । १८६०८६७ । लब्धे घनमूले । ९ । १२३ ॥ इति घन-मूलम् ॥

इति श्रीधराचार्यविरचितं परिकर्माष्टकं समाप्तम् ॥

भागजातिभिन्नसङ्कलितव्यवकलितयोः सूत्रम् ॥

समच्छेदार्थमन्योन्यं
छिद्भ्यां हन्याद्धरांशकौ ।
समच्छिदोऽशायुतोनाः
स्याद्रूपप्रहरे हरः ॥ (१५ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

अर्द्धत्र्यंशचतुर्थांशाः
किं युक्ता वा त्रयाच्च्युताः ॥ (२॥)

न्यासः[1]	१	१	१	जाताः समच्छेदाः	६	४	३
	२	३	४		१२	१२	१२

योगे जातम्	१३	एतत्त्रयाद्विशोध्य शेषम्	२३
	१२		१२

इति भिन्नसङ्कलितव्यवकलिते ॥

प्रभागजातिभिन्नगुणने सूत्रम् ॥

भागप्रभागे गुणनें-
ऽशघातो हरघातहृत् ।

उदाहरणम् ।

अंघ्रेरर्द्धतृतीयांशः
कः किं त्र्यंशहतं दलम् ।

न्यासः	१	१	१	प्रभागे जातम्	१	गुण्य	१	गुणक	१	गुणनाज्जातम्	१
	४	२	३		२४		३		२		६

इति भिन्नगुणकारः ॥

भिन्नभागहारे सूत्रम् ॥

परिवर्त्त्य लवच्छेदौ
हरस्य गुणनं ततः ॥ (१६॥)

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१. न्यासः in margin,

उदाहरणम् ।। प्राग्लब्ध[1]भिन्नगुणफलस्वगुणच्छेदयोर्भिन्नभागार्थं न्यासः ।। भाज्य

१	हर	१	लब्धम्	१
६		३		२

इति भिन्नभागहारः ।।

भिन्नवर्गादिषु सूत्रम् ।।

छेदांशयोः कृती वर्गे
घने घनौ पदे पदे ।

उदाहरणम् ।।

सार्द्धत्रयस्य कौ वर्ग-
घनौ ताभ्यां च के पदे ।। (३।।)

न्यासः	३	जातौ वर्गौ	४९	घनौ च	३४३	जाते [f. 1 v] पदे	७	७	इति भिन्न-
	१		४		(८)		२	२	
	२								

परिकर्माष्टकं समाप्तम् ।।४।।

शून्यजातौ सूत्रम् ।।

शून्यं खेन वधे स्यात् खं
खस्य वर्गघनादिषु ।। (१७ ।।)

इति शून्यजातिः ।।

भागानुबन्धभागापवाहजातौ सूत्रम् ।।

छेदघ्नरूपेष्वंशाः स्व-
मृणं चैकस्य चेल्लवान(ा)म् ।
हृतो हरो[2] ऽधश्छिदं(ां)श-
स्तया स्वांशयुतोनया ।। (१८।।)

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१. प्राल्लब्ध°

२. हूरो

उदाहरणम् ।।

त्र्यंशाढ्योनास्त्रयः किं किं
स्वत्र्यंशाढ्योनितास्त्रयः ।

न्यासः

३	३	सवर्णिते जाते	१०	८	स्वांशपक्षे च	३	३
	०		३	३		१	१
१	१[1]					१	१[2]
३	३						
						३	३

अस्य जाते ४।२।। इति भागानुबन्धभागापवाहजातिचतुष्टयम् ।।

व्यस्तोद्देशजातौ सूत्रम् ।।

व्यस्ते स्वर्णे गुणहारौ
दृष्टे वर्णपदे अपि ।
स्वर्णे स्वांशे सति स्वांशा-
ढ्योनरूपेण भाजयेत् ।। (१९।।)

उदाहरणम् ।

द्व्यूनस्त्रिघ्नो वर्गितः कः
स्वत्र्यंशाढ्यस्त्रिहृन्नृपाः ।। (४ ।।)

न्यासः ।। ० २[3] गुण[4] ३ वर्ग १ स्वत्रयम्

१	[४]
३	

भाग ३ दृश्य १६ । जातो राशिः ४ ।। इति व्यस्त-जातिः ।।

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१. १

२. ०
१

३. ०
२

४. गुणा

दृष्ट[1]जात्यादिषु सूत्रम् ॥

आलापवद्धतहृतां-
शयुतोनैकहृद्दृश्यः[2] ।

उदाहरणम् ॥

कस्त्रिघ्नः पंचहृद्राशेः
पंचांशाढ्यो ऽब्धिहृ(द्) द्वयम् ।

न्यासः ॥ गुण ३ भाग ५ राश्यंशधनं | १ / ५ | भाग ४ दृश्य २ ॥ जातो राशिः १० ॥ इति दृष्टजातिः ॥

अथ दृश्यजात्युदाहरणम् ॥

खं षष्ठोंऽगाज्जलं त्र्यंशः
षड्[3] दृष्टाः कति ते शुकाः ॥ (५॥)

न्यासः | ० / १ / ६ | ० / १ / ३ | दृश्य ६ | जाताः शुकाः १२ ॥ इति दृश्यजातिः ॥

अथ शेषजातौ सूत्रम् ॥

छिद्घातभक्तेन लवोनहार-
घातेन भाज्यः प्रकठाख्यराशिः ॥ (२०॥)

(उदाहरणम् ॥)

षष्ठे शेषार्द्धे तच्छेष-
त्र्यंशे याते शुका दश ।

न्यासः | १° / ६ | शेष | १° / २ | शेष | [०°] / १ / ३ | दृश्य १० ॥ जातो राशिः ३६ ॥

अथवा भागापवाहविधिना वल्लीसवर्णनभागाः ॥

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१. इष्ट°

२. °द्दृशः

३. षट्

न्यासः

१ १ १°[१] ६ १°[२] २[३] १°[४] ३	हृतो हरो[५] ऽथ्रश्छिदं[ा]श इत्यादिकरणेन सवर्णनाज्जातम्	५ १८	एतेन दृष्टभक्तं ॥

जाताः शुकाः ३६ ॥ इदं विलोमसूत्रेण वा सिध्यति ॥ इति शेषजातिः ॥

अथ विश्लेषजात्युदाहरणम् ॥

षडंशार्द्धान्तरं नष्टं
दृष्टाः षड्गोयुतिः कति ॥ (६॥)

न्यासः

१°[६] ६	१°[७] २	अस्यान्तरं[८]	१°[९] ३	दृश्य ६	यथोक्तकरणे जाता गोयुतिः ९ ॥ इति विश्लेष-जातिः ॥

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१. ०
   १
२. ०
   १°
३. २°
४. ०
   १
५. हृरो
६. ०
   १
७. ०
   १
८. अस्य अन्तरं
९. १

मूलजातौ सूत्रम् ॥

मूलाढ्योनाच्चतुर्निघ्नान्
मूलवर्गयुतात् पदम् ।
मूलोनयुतं दलितं
वर्गितं जायते फलम् ॥ (२१ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

मूलोनितः शेषषडंशहीनः
कः शेषमूलेन युतः खरामाः ॥(७॥)

न्यासः ॥ १०[1] शेष | १०[2] / ६ | शेषमूलधन १ दृश्य ३० । जातो राशिः ३६ ॥ इति मूलजातिः ॥

दृष्टमूलांशजातौ सूत्रम् ॥

अथ लवयुतोनितोक्तौ
लवान्वितोनैकभाजिताद् दृश्यात् ।
तस्यानयनं प्राग्वन्
मूलादपि यदि लवो राशेः ॥ (२२ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

यो भांशत्र्यंशनन्दांशै-
र्निजैर्युक्तः पदेन च ।
राशिर्नवार्कतुल्यः स्यात्
तं द्राक्कीर्त्तय कोविद ॥ (८ ॥)

न्यासः | १ / २७ | १ / ३ | १ / ९ | मू(ल) [४ / १] दृश्य १२९ ॥ जातो राशिः ८१ ॥

इति दृष्टमूलांशजातिः समाप्ता ॥

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१. ० / १

२. ० / १

(माडजातौ सूत्रम्)

माडस्य भूमौ सदृशाङ्कपंक्ति-
रिष्टैः सरूपैः क्रमशो विभक्ता ।
इष्टघ्नलब्धं सहितं तदूर्ध्वे
सूत्रं विचित्रं शृणु नार्मदोक्तम् ।। (२३ ।।)

उदाहरणम् ।।

शिष्याकर्णय गोपुरे
क्षितिभृतः सप्त क्षणे सुन्दरे ।
तत्रासन्मनुजाः क्षणं
क्षणमधस्तिष्ठन् जगादोच्चगीः ।। (९ ।।)
यावन्तो वयमत्र पातन-
भयात्तावन्त एते क्षणा-
दायाताः प्रतिभूमिकां वद
सखे संख्या नराणां समा ।। (१० ।।)

न्यासः ।। पृथक्क्षणे क्षणे जाता नराः समाः ६४ । ६४।।

१२७	इति माडजातिः ।।
६३	
६२	
६०	
५६	
४८	
३२	

इति श्रीश्रीधराचार्यविरचिता जातिः समाप्ता ।।

त्रैराशिकादिषु सूत्रम् ॥

त्रिपंचसप्तादिकराशिके स्तः
प्रमाणमिच्छा च समानजाती ।
अन्योन्यपक्षे फलहारकाणां
विधाय यानं न फलस्य वामे । [१]
बह्वंशपक्षाङ्कवधोऽल्पकांश-
पक्षाङ्कघातेन हृतः फलं स्यात् ॥ (२४॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

सार्द्धैः षड्भिः पणैराम्र-
शतं द्रम्मेण ते कति ।

न्यासः	६	१००	१६	लब्धमाम्राः	२४६	इति त्रैराशिकम् ॥
	१	[१]			२	
	२				१३	

पंचराशिके उदाहरणम् ॥

सार्द्धे मासे शते पंच
षष्टेर्वर्षे फलं तु किम् ॥ (११ ॥)

न्यासः	३	१२	लब्धं कलान्तरे २४ ॥ इति पंचराशिकम् ॥
	२		
	१००	६०	
	५	[०]	

सप्तराशिके उदाहरणम् ॥

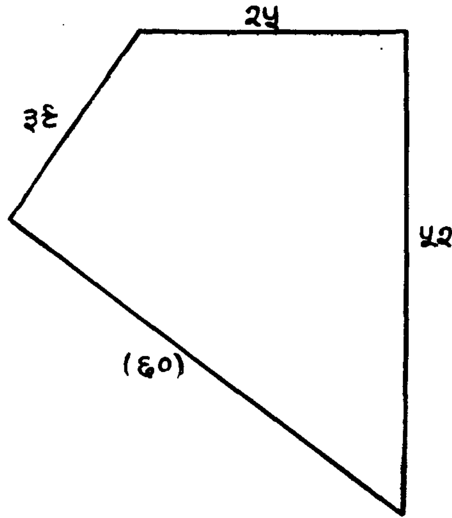
दशायामा त्रिविस्तारा
पटी द्रम्माष्टकेन चेत् ।
लभ्यते द्वे त्रिविस्तारे
अर्कायामे किमाप्नुतः ॥(१२)

न्यासः	१	२	लब्धं द्रम्माः	१८	इति सप्तराशिकम् ॥
	१०	३		१	
	३	१३		५	
	८	[०]			

व्यस्तत्रैराशिके उदाहरणम् ।।

दत्तेष्टवर्ण [here ends f. 1 v]

[f. 3] अथ दर्शनक्षेत्रम् ।।



अस्य फलं १७६४ ।। इति चतुरस्रक्षेत्रज्ञानं समाप्तम् ।।

वृत्तक्षेत्रज्ञाने सूत्रम् ।।

व्यासव्यासार्द्धकृती
परिधिफले नगहृते द्विदस्रघ्ने ।

उदाहरणम् ।।

परिधिः को दशव्यासे
वृत्ते स्पष्टफलं तु किम् ।।

न्यासः ।। (व्यासः)	> १०[1]	परिधिः	३१	अस्य फलं	७८
			३		४
			७		७

इति वृत्तक्षेत्रम् ।।

1. २०

धनुषः क्षेत्रानयने सूत्रम् ॥

चापे फलं शरो ज्येषु-
योगार्द्धघ्नो नखांशयुक् ॥ (२५ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

चापे त्रयोदशज्ये
किं फलं स्पष्टं त्रिसायके ॥ (१३ ॥)

न्यासः ॥ 13, 3 अस्य फलं | २५ / १ / ५ | इति धनुषः

फलानयनम् ॥

शरानयने सूत्रम् ॥

ज्याव्यासयोगान्तरघातमूलं
व्यासस्तदूनो दलितः शरः स्यात् ।
व्यासाच्छरोनाच्छरसङ्गुणाच्च
मूलं द्विनिघ्नं[1] भवतीह जीवा ।
जीवार्द्धवर्गे शरभक्तयुक्ते
व्यासप्रमाणं प्रवदन्ति वृत्ते ॥ (२६ ॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

दशविस्तृतिवृत्तान्ता
यत्र ज्या षण्मिता सखे ।
तत्रेषुं वद बाणाज्ज्यां
ज्याबाणाभ्यां च विस्तृतिम् ॥१ (१४ ॥)

न्यासः | १० / [०] | ६ / १ | लब्धा बाणमितिः १ ॥ ज्ञाते बाणे लब्धा ज्या ६ ॥ ज्याबाणयोर्ज्ञातयोर्लब्धा वृत्तविस्तृतिः १०॥ इति शरानयनम् ॥

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१. विनिघ्नं

आयतत्र्यस्त्रे सूत्रम् ।

इष्टाब्दाह्नोर्यत् स्यात्
पार्श्वे[1] ऽन्य(ाय)ां दिशीतरो बाहुः ।
त्र्यस्रे चतुरस्रे वा
सा कोटिः कीर्त्तिता तज्ज्ञैः ॥(२७॥)
तत्कृत्योर्योगपदं
कर्णो दोः कर्णयोर्विवरात् ।
मूलं कोटिः कोटि-
श्रुतिकृत्योरन्तरात् पदं बाहुः ॥ (२८॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

कोटिश्चतुष्टयं यत्र
दोस्त्रयं तत्र का श्रुतिः ।
कोटिं[2] दोः कर्णतः कोटि-
श्रुतिभ्यां च भुजं वद ॥ (१५ ॥)

न्यासः ३ ४ यथोक्तकरणे जातः कर्णः ५ ॥ इति त्र्यस्रायतम् ॥

इति श्रीश्रीधराचार्यविरचितगणितपंचविंशत्यां क्षेत्रव्यवहारः समाप्तः[3] ॥

खातव्यवहारे सूत्रम् ।

घनहस्ताः क्षेत्रफलं
खाते वेधेन ताडितम्

उदाहरणम् ॥

त्रिवेधे घनहस्ताः के
प्राक् त्र्यस्रे चतुरस्रके ।

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१. स्पार्द्धे
२. कोटिः
३. समाप्तः in margin,

न्यासः ॥ १३ △ ३ १५ १४ | ५ ▢ ३ ५ ५ ५ लब्धे[1] २ घनहस्ताः २५२ । ७५ ॥ इति खातव्यवहारः ॥

चितिक्रकचव्यवहारे सूत्रम् ॥

उच्छ्रयेण चितौ मार्गे
क्रकचे फलमाहृतम् ॥ (२९॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

चितौ त्र्यस्त्रे चतुरस्त्रे च
द्व्युच्छ्रये किं फलं चितौ ॥ (१६ ॥)

न्यासः ॥ लब्धं १३ △ २ १५ १४ | ५ ▢ २ ५ ५ ५ घनहस्ताः १६८ । ५० ॥

क्रकचव्यवहारे उदाहरणम् ॥

दशदैर्घ्यत्रिविस्तारे
मार्गैः षड्भिः फलं तु किम् ॥

न्यासः ॥ ३ [१० × ३ rectangle, १० above and below, ३ on each side] ३ मार्ग (ा): ६ । अस्य फलं

घनहस्ताः १८० ॥ इति चितिक्रकचव्यवहारः ॥

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१. लब्धं

राशिकाव्यवहारे सूत्रम् ॥

राशौ नवांशः परिधेः
षड्भागयुतिताडितः ।

उदाहरणम्

षट्त्रिंशत्परिधौ राशौ
केति स्युर्घनबाहवः ॥ (१७ ॥)

न्यासः ॥ (४) ३६ ३६ एतावन्तो मागधरबार्या ॥

लब्धं घनहस्ताः १४४ ॥ इति राशिव्यवहारः ॥

छायाव्यवहारे सूत्रम् ॥

सशङ्कुनाप्ते शङ्क्वर्द्धे
गतशेषं दिनं भवेत् ॥ (३०॥)

उदाहरणम् ॥

सिद्धभाष्टाङ्गुले शङ्कौ
के द्युशेषगते तदा ॥ (१८ ॥)

[शेषं दिनं भवेत्] न्यासः ॥ शङ्क्वङ्गुल[1] ८ छायाङ्गुल[2] २४ । लब्धं दिनगतशेषं | १ / ८ | इति दिनानयनम् ॥

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१. शङ्कु अङ्गुल
२. छाया अङ्गुल

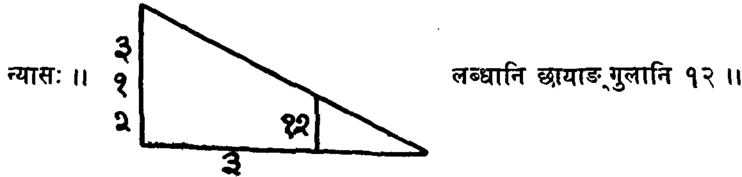
छायाज्ञाने सूत्रम् ।।

शङ्कुः[1] प्रदीपतलशङ्कु[2]तलान्तरघ्न—
श्छाया भवेद्विनरदीपशिखौच्च्यभक्तः ।

उदाहरणम् ।।

शङ्कुप्रदीपान्तरभूस्त्रिहस्ता
दीपोच्छ्रितिः सार्द्धकरत्रया चेत् ।
शङ्कोस्तदार्काङ्गुलसंमितस्य
तस्याः प्रभा स्यात् कियती वदाशु ।। (१९ ।।)

न्यासः ।।



लब्धानि छायाङ्गुलानि १२ ।।

इति छायाज्ञानम् ।। [१]

दीपोच्च्यज्ञाने सूत्रम् ।।

छायोद्धृते तु नरदीपतलान्तरघ्ने
शङ्कौ भवेन्नरयुते खलु दीपकौच्च्यम् ।। (३१ ।।)

उदाहरणम् ।।

प्रदीपशङ्क्वन्तरभूस्त्रिहस्ता
छायाङ्गुलैः षोडशभिः समा चेत् ।।
दीपोच्छ्रितिः स्यात् कियती तदास्याः
प्रदीपशङ्क्वन्तरमुच्यतां मे ।। (२०।।)

न्यासः ।। शङ्कु १२ छायाङ्गुलानि १६ शङ्कुप्रदीपान्तरं हस्ताः ३ । लब्धं दीपौच्च्यं | ११ / ४ |

इ [f. 3v]ति दीपौच्च्यम् ।।

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१. शङ्कु
२. शङ्कव

इति छायाव्यवहारः ॥

प्रतिकंचुक[1]रचनापटु
पाशपतनं न ते भवत्वररे ।
श्रीधररचितं पठ पठ]
गणिताध्यायं रसिकरम्यम् ॥ (३२॥)

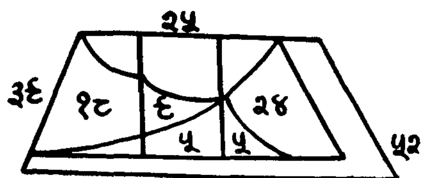
उत्तरतः सुरनिलयं
दक्षिणतो मलयपर्वतं यावत् ।
प्रागपरोदधिमध्ये
नो गणकः श्रीधरादन्यः ॥ [१] (३३ ॥)

इति श्रीश्रीधराचार्यविरचिता गणितपंचविंशी[2] समाप्त (ा) ॥

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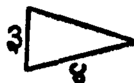
१. °कुञ्चुक°
२. °विंशिः

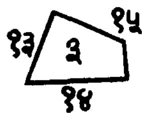
MANUSCRIPT FIGURES

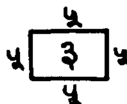


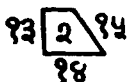
२०

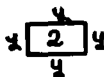


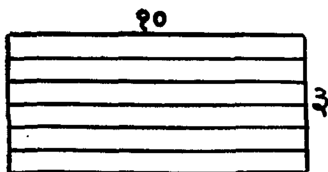




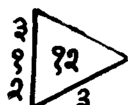








४ ३६



SOME THOUGHTS ON THE 'CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT POETS' BY DR. L. STERNBACH

I. D. Serebryakov

There are some prejudices which complicate not only studies of ancient and mediaeval literature of India, but also researches in the field of India's general history as well as all spheres of intellectual life of this county. Among them the most important one is assertion of absence of reliable chronology and localisation of many works and naturally of their authors. Hardly any scholar misses opportunity to express complaints about these difficulties. Some colleagues even are ready to reject the very possibility to find any law in the development of literature, art etc.; as objective assessment of literary works seems impossible for them, they are prepared to reject as well the very principle of historical determinism. Nevertheless, there are some exact dates about which consensus is achieved—Buddha's birth, Alexander's invasion, dates of Gupta emperors and Harsha's Empire, Ibn-Qasim's invasion etc. and numerous attempts were undertaken to insert dates of concrete works and their authors with the help of some auxiliary arguments in between these established dates. Still in so many cases dating of some works and their authors vaccilate within such limits which are distant from one another for seven or eight centuries, if not more. As for instance we may quote dating of "*Caturbhāṇi*" which, according to M. M. Ghosh was written in Nanda-Maurya period, though other scholars date it by Gupta period or even by the very end of first millenia A. D.

Even such scholar as D. D. Kosambi expressed his regrets that in Indian literary studies it is not possible to have support of exact chronology and localisation. Now, as decades ago, we come across in some indological works with some complaints. Moreover, quite often it is stated that such difficulties concern not only poetry in Sanskrit but also

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1. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Posts quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions.* Volume I, Aṃśudhara—Dhoyi. Otto Harassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. i-xxxi, 1-451.

poetry in any of the ancient or mediaeval Indian languages. From such stand take start numerous unfounded guesses and suggestions, negation of authorship, converting quite a number of real poets into "dimmy traditions", "sets of patterns", "givenship", "formulas", ideas about "unhistoricity" of Indians, replacing a real solution of any problem by voluntary speculations etc. However, even taking into consideration all difficulties to overcome such prejudices we think that the main reason for those was absence of systematic efforts directed towards them and based on rational, methodological and methodic base.

"*A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*" compiled by Dr. L. Strenbach, General Secretary of IASS and a Sanskrit scholar of international repute, has to be considered as the much promising beginning of such a work. We marked already elsewhere extremely high methodological and methodic qualities of previous works of our esteemed colleague, particularly those of his monumental "*Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*". His researches in textology created possibility of differentiation and classification of gigantic fund of Sanskrit lyric poetry in anthologies and inscriptions and in many respects cleared field for scientifically correct approach to the problem of attribution.

Compiler of the *Catalogue* discussed all important aspects of this problem in the opening part of the Introduction of "*Volue of Anthologies and Inscriptions for History of Sanskrit Literature*". Though anthologies as such are known to scholars for pretty long time, they were not studied so fundamentally as is done by Dr. L. Sternbach. For this author it was enough paradoxically to read so many compliments paid to greatness of Sanskrit literature in different works and along with those compliments to find that actual assessment of this greatness was done on the basis of not so many works mostly connected with the Gupta period. Actual richness of the people of South Asian sub-continent in contributing to the world literature was not given proper assessment which it actually deserves. Happily due to incessant efforts of Indian and Western scholars within last decades so many still not known names and titles were brought to the light that this paradox more and more becomes vestige of the past. Th. Aufrecht's "*Catalogus Catalogorum*" contained references to approximately fifty thousand manuscripts; "*New Catalogus Catalogorum*" started by the most lamented Prof. V. Raghavan contained data covering more than three hundred thousand entries. As he reported at Torino Sanskrit Conference that since 1949 more than 20 thousand manuscripts were found and 50 lists of private Mss. collection came to his hands and all this huge addition to Mss. heritage of India awaits cataloguing. As searches continue and new finds coming it would be appropriate to stress necessity of thorough investigation of this huge mass in orderly manner and for this sake the first and most important step is cataloguing. I would like also to note that we are bound to

include into investigation also manuscripts in all different ancient and mediaeval Indian languages apart from Sanskrit.

Assessing such an important part of this mass as Anthologies Dr. L. Sternbach writes : "The value of the subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s consists, in the first place, in the preservation of poetry of poets generally unknown or little known which would have disappeared completly if it would not be saved by the compilers of anthologies. Even the names of many poets would have fallen into complete oblivion. In the second place, their value lies in the preservation of poetry of known and sometimes famous poets in an unusual form, or simply different one from that known today ; it was the form which was prevalent at the time and place where the respective authors/compilers of the anthologies have prepared their collections of stray verses."[1]

Special attention is paid by Dr. L. Sternbach to these possibilities which anthologies open for dating and localisation of poets and for attributions—for such purposes he used works on poetics and some narrative sources like "*prabandha*-s". The compiler scrutinizes very tactfully problem of dating and attribution, with special attention to the later, having used for it material of all twenty two classical anthologies, on which his *Catalogue* is based. First of all he stresses necessity to take precautions and care to accept this or that concrete attribution given in the anthologies.[2] Critically assessing this problem Dr. L. Sternbach attracts attention to "mistaken attributions"[3], "doubtful attributions"[4], "different spellings of the authors' names"[5], when from composite name could be dropped this or that part or name could be changed with the help of suffixes and prefixes[6], when it concerns not only formants, but also words defining social or professional characteristics of authors. Attention is drawn also to cases when "different poets have the same name"[7], intentionally invented names or pseudenyms which produce confusion[8]. We would like to note that para 62. I with more propriety could be placed in pp. 21-24. Anthologies contain also cases of pluralistic attribution when one and the same *śloka* is ascribed by different anthologies to different poets or even such a case when one *śloka* could be met in the same anthology in its different departments.

Dr. L. Sternbach attracts also our attention quite correctly to the fact that wrong attribution could arise when authorship was defined by genre or ideological symptoms,

1. P. 1.
2. P. 11.
3. PP. 11-16.
4. PP. 16-18.
5. P. 20.
6. PP. 21-24.
7. PP. 24-27.
8. PP. 27-34.

characteristic to certain well known poets. Special interest in this connection has assertion of Dr. L. Sternbach that "a great number of verses which belonged to the floating mass of oral tradition were considered at the time of the compilation of anthologies as composed by some known authors; the compilers followed only this tradition considering it as just and certain. That is the reason that many verses were ascribed to Vyāsa, as author of the *Mahābhārata*, or directly to the *Mahābhārata*, or to Kālidāsa, etc. It should also not be forgotten that a great part of the well-known verses ceased to be identified with individual authors and became the property of all, as today many proverbs and maxims. That was particularly the case of so-called Bhartṛhari's epigrams or Cāṇakya's sayings.

Basing his opinion on all analysed possibilities of attribution Dr. L. Sternbach suggests some corrections[1] which we mean quite well-founded; along with this he also exposes those *śloka*-s of well known poets which could be meant as "new" for them—for instance 65 *śloka*-s of Kālidāsa.

Importance of epigrahics for history of Sanskrit literature was noticed for the first time by a scholar of such repute as George Bühler in 1890. Though inscriptions may not be very impressive from the poetic point of view, they are very helpful in dating, localisation and attribution. All these possibilities were used by the compiler in most effective way—it is enough to refer here to the entry on pp. 53-54 about poet Umapatidhara (12th century A. D.).

Such are most imporatant methodologieal and methodic approaches of the esteemed colleague. Having used most effectively his own extremely rich and multifarious experience as well as the experience of world Indology and in general the experience of humanities Dr. L. Sternbach elaborated quite effective structure of the *Catalogue.* Each entry consists of (A) information available about the author and remarks about his possible identity with other authors; (B) information about the probable date when the author flourished; (C) references to all works where this particular poet is mentioned; (D) titles of works written by him, if available; (E) anthologies and/or inscriptions in which the verses specifically attributed to the author are quoted; (F) total number of verses attributed to this concrete poet; (G) extact, as far as possible, data concerning the verses quoted and attributed to the author in genuine anthologies etc.; (H) pseudonyms, sobriquets etc. of the author; (I) bibliographical references; (J) general comments on the verses quoted in (G) and their attributions, authenticity, sources, popularity and type of poetry of the author.

1. pp. 38-42

greateful to Dr. L. Sternbach who in his *Catalogue* as well as in "*Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*" created instruments of high precision which enable us to look for solution of so many important problems of Indian literary studies. Among them, problem of literary contacts and influence in ancient and mediaeval India may be solved more successfully with higher degree of reliablity, escaping dangers of retrospection. Or, take another sequence—if we consider all localisations suggested in Dr. L. Sternbach's Catalogue we find—according to Vol. I—next hierarchy of historico-cultural areas Kashmir—Rajasthan—Bengal—Mithila—Gujarat etc.

It seems that suggestions which could be done may concern only some betterment in separate points. Touching problem of attribution's possible limits[1] Dr. L. Sternbach remarks that in some cases anthologies give the name of author without specifying exact number of *śloka*-s ascribed to him, particulary when the number is more than two; in the later case the number is shown by use of Duals. Dr. L. Sternbach writes : "Experience has shown that sometimes five or six verses preceding such an attribution were composed by the author, but not all the verses to the preceding attribution."[2] It would be quite appropriate to involve into discussion also question whether we are bound to see in *śloka* the only strophic forms of lyrical poetry in Sanskrit. There were other forms as well, particularly containing two, three and more *śloka*-s. This reviewer is of the opinion that such consideration could help to find in cases of above-mentioned type of attribution other strophic forms of Sanskrit lyrical verse, which we may find, by the way, in Dr. L. Sternbach's "*Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*" (nn. 3592-94, 3600-20, 3598-99, 4883-84 etc.).

The *Catalogue* is a new example of Messrs Harassowitz's ability to present the most difficult editions in the most effective way, rendering very important service for the benefit of Indologists. Due to complicated character of the *Catalogue* a few printer's devils crippled in—in entry No. 230 in brackets one could expect '*taleśvara*' but not '*teśvara*', as well as in entry No. 26 we could see 1015 but not 1915.

Dr. L. Sternbach in his "*Catalogue*" created necessary foundation for positive solution of very wide range of problems, concerning poetry in Sanskrit, extremely important phenomena of cultural heritage of India. This work is an extremely important step not only in making instruments of our research much more perfect and precise, but as well in perfection of methodology and methodics of Indian literary history research.

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1. Para 71.1.
2. P. 37.

Volume I of the *Catalogue* under review contains 704 entries in *Devanāgarī* alphabetical order which are construed in a way which we characterised above—from badly known Aṃsudhara (13th century A. D.) to Dhoyi, who lived in 12th century A. D. Within these limits we find such classics as Amaru, Aśvaghoṣa, Kalhaṇa, Kālidāsa, Kumāradāsa, Kṣemendra, Ghaṭakarpara, Cāṇakya, Jayadeva (—and other five poets of the same name !), Jalhaṇa, Daṇḍin, Diṅnāga and Dhanañjaya. It is a common place that image of any literature or literary tradition is being defined not only by the most outstanding personalities but as well by whole totality of heritage in creation of which all participants, however great or badly known, made their own contribution. It may be asserted that such literary phenomena as Sanskrit literature was created by many more poets than enumerated in the *Catalogue* compiled by Dr. L. Sternbach, not saying about its volume I. But even the data collected in Vol. I allows to define parameters of Sanskrit literature much more correctly and puts as well the scholar before some quite unexpected problems. Taking into account relativity of all chronological dates (the Compiler draws our attention to this feature very systematically and recommends to be cautious in this respect) we must note that the biggest part of authors who used Sanskrit as medium of literary expression falls in the period from 7th upto 15th century A. D.—more than five hundred, about twenty—on the period before 7th century A. D., more than a hundred—on the time after 15th century A. D. 13th and 15th centuries A. D. are seen as periods of very high literary activity in Sanskrit which accordingly gave 182 and 107 poets. We understand that this counting is rather conventional as in the larger part of cases, with a few exclusions, we may speak only about "upper limits", i. e. about the date later than which the poet could not live or at least create. Nevertheless, even in such a case distribution of poets in span of time is rather impressive. We are conscious of the fact that so many works were lost irretrievably but even so wider popularity of Sanskrit from the end of the first millenia A. D. upto the middle of the second millenia A. D. is quite evident.

Though in a limited scope the *Catalogue* allows to apply to so complicated phenomena as Sanskrit literature, some statistical methods—for an instance to give preliminary assessment when and where, in which area Sanskrit poetry received most intensive development and how big was its contribution to literary development of this given area in this given period. Even physical size of entries is in a way rather informative. If Amaru covers 10 pages, Aśvaghoṣa—I, Ānandavardhana—I, Umāpati—4, Cāṇakya—more than 5, Kālidāsa—15, Kumāradāsa—2, Kṣemendra—more than 12, Daṇḍin—6, Dāmodara—I, research scholars are right to draw conclusions about degree of popularity of the poet and about his place in all-Indian literary process. . . .

Every scholar engaged in researches concerning literary history of India has to be

ADDENDA

SECTION I

Reminiscences and Bibliography

A FEW HOURS WITH PROF. STERNBACH

Gopal Chandra Sinha

Before I had the good fortune and pleasure of personally meeting Professor Ludwik Sternbach in Paris in the morning of July 3, 1978, I was acquainted with him only through his writings, his biodata which appeared in the *Kavirāja Abhinandana Grantha* published by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad of which I have been the Secretary for the past several years, and his letters which I have been receiving ever since I received one along with his article on "Rāmāyaṇa Verses in Cāṇakya's compendia" for being published in the aforesaid *Abhinandana Grantha.* Later on when the Parishad decided to start its Journal *Ṛtam* I again wrote to him for an article for its initial issue, which he readily and very kindly sent to the Parishad's Joint Secretary and the Editor-in-Charge of the *Ṛtam*, Dr. J. P. Sinha. Our correspondence, with which was also associated my friend and colleague in the Parishad, Dr. J. P. Sinha, thus grew more and more and this also led to a sort of intimacy between me and Dr. J. P. Sinha on the one hand and Prof. Sternbach on the other. One of the subjects in which Professor Sternbach is most interested is law in general and Ancient Indian Law in particular. This is a subject of my interest too. Consequently I was greatly attracted towards him. The vastness and depth of Prof. Sternbach's Juridical studies further enhanced my admiration and attraction towards him.

In the beginning of the year 1978 I and Dr. J. P. Sinha both happened to have a casual talk with our late lamented Guru and the then President of the Parishad, Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, on a number of subjects, in the course of which he opined that Professor Sternbach was, if not the greatest, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars in the world and that it would be in the fitness of things if the Parishad presented him with a befitting Felicitation Volume. In the same connection he also remarked that in honouring this great scholar and Sanskritist, the Parishad would be doing an honour to itself.

In the meantime I and Dr. J. P. Sinha grew more and more intimate with Professor Sternbach also through correspondence and longed very much to meet him in flesh and blood. Fortunately the opportunity came when our friend Prof. Dr. Jacob Ensink, the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Groningen in the Netherlands invited me and Dr. J. P. Sinha to his place in order to assist him in editing a so far unknown work in Sanskrit on Hindu pilgrimage named *Tirthavidhisamgraha* with the only manuscript which we had in the Parishad. This was towards the end of May, 1978. While leaving Lucknow for Holland, I and Dr. Sinha had both decided to pay, if possible, a visit also to Prof. Sternbach in Paris. So when our work with Prof. Ensink had finished we chalked out, with his help, a small tour programme for Frankfurt, Salisbury (Luzern) in Switzerland and Paris and then to England.

We had very little time at our disposal and so could ill-afford to give more than 14 or 15 hours to Paris where our only object was to meet Prof. Sternbach.

Our train arrived at Paris East railway station at 7.15 A. M. on July 3, 1978. The day and the time of our arrival there had already been intimated to Prof. Sternbach through correspondence and a telephone talk between him and Prof. Ensink. At the same time Prof. Sternbach offered to come to the railway station to receive us; but the difficulty was as to how to recognise each other; for, neither I nor Dr. J. P. Sinha had ever been face to face with Prof. Sternbach nor had we ever seen him even in a photograph. So was the case with the Professor. Prof. Ensink had, therefore, told him on phone the design and the colour of the coats that we would be wearing on the occasion of our arrival there.

Our train from Luzern entered the Paris East railway station exectly at 7.15 A. M. and just as the train was to stop we saw a hefty old man present almost in front of our compartment holding a luggage trolly. As soon as the train stopped we got down on the platform along with our luggage and were face to face to the grand old man. We readily exchanged greetings as we had no difficulty in recognizing each other. I and Dr. Sinha were peculiar with our Indian dress of the colour and design already intimated to Prof. Sternbach who was conspicuous with the broad forehead peculiar of a great thinker and scholar.

Prof. Sternbach himself placed our luggage on the trolly in his hand and took it to the cloak-room without allowing us to touch it. After placing our luggage in the cloak room he took us to his residence, where his only companions were his rich library and the good mannered and affectionate lady house-keeper, whom he treated with great regard and consideration characteristic of a gentleman of the first order. After we had taken a sumptuous and very tasty brak-fast with him he took us round his library and

gave us a brief idea of the tremendous literary work that he was doing even in his old age. A little later we went on a half-day tour round the city and then again went back to Prof. Sternbach. He then took us for dinner to an Indian Restaurant as he very much wanted to entertain us with Indian food. But he was greatly disappointed, which could be read writ large on his face, when he found that there was no room there. He then took us to another restaurant where we got good vegetarian food fully to our liking; but we could not fail noticing that his disappointment was still on his face. We were in his pleasant company for some time more and parted with the same after we had boarded the train at Paris North railway station for London at about 10 P. M. the same day. In the short time that we were with him the thing that we constantly marked was that this सुभाषितविद्वान् was proof-personified of the *subhāṣita*—"विद्या ददाति विनयम्" ।

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SECTION II

Vedic Studies

THE UDĀTTA AS KEY-STONE OF THE DECIPHERING CODE FOR THE ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ-"PALIMPSEST"

A. Esteller (S. J.)

I. THE UDĀTTA'S PROSODICAL VALUE

The attention of ṛgvedic scholars is directed to this writer's previous publications on this topic, especially in *ANNALS* (B. O. R. I.—Diamond Jubilee Vol.) and to the references mentioned therein, besides the article in the *Bombay University Journal* (Arts) which will have already appeared by the time the present essay is published (cf. particularly, *ANNALS*, loc. cit. pp. 615 ff.). The meaning of this *archaic prosodical* value of the *udātta* will be made clear by what may be rightly considered as the shibboleth of this archaic versifying factor.

The *steple-references* are to *Conc*(ordance, Vedic), *Gr.*(assmann's *Ṛgveda-Wörterbuch*), *G.*(eldner's Translation), O.(ldenberg's Noten)—*without* further specification, since they are *ad loc.* or *s. v.*, naturally. And mark (as we have often repeated!) that the trenchant strictures passed here (and elsewhere)—on the *editorial Saṁhitā-Kāra* (=*SK*)—agency and its "traditional" text (or devotees)—are not meant to question their "good intentions", but to awaken ṛgvedic scholarship to the deleterious effect that the said SK-agency's misguided "Palimpsesting method" has had on the original (*and* immeasurably superior!) *ṛṣi-kavi*-s' own *ur*-text, which we are bent on reconstructing—for their *ṛṣi*-s due honour and India's benefit—by means of our rational text-critical approach.—("*satyam eva jayate*"!).—And now for the texts in question :

NOTE: for our archaic *Pp-like* (no *saṃdhi*-s!) text-transcription and conventional signs at the *pāda*-end we use mainly: = (no change), × (changed word-order), + (emendation—given in *italics* in the text), **S**(*s*ubstitution), **L**(*length*-value for a *hrasva* in the *rhythm*-scheme), **A**(*length*-value for *accent*), **R**(*r*esolution of *kṣaipra*-s, vowels or *saṃdhi*-s, **H**(*h*apolology), **D**(*d*eletion), **I**(insertion). If a saṃdhi is metre-demanded a + between the

V.33.5	(a)	vayáṃ *tay* indra nárah yái ca *tava*(!)	(N. B.)	×SL+A(!)
	(b)	śárdhaḥ jajñānaḥ y*áanta*ś ca rāthāiḥ(!)	(N. B.)	+RA(!)
	(c)	s*á* tvām ahi-śuṣm*a as*mān jagamyā*ḥ*(!)	(N. B.)	+R×(!)
	(d)	bhágaḥ ná cāruḥ prabhṛtháiṣu h*áv*- *yáḥ*	(N. B.)	×HI
VII.30.4	(a)	vayáṃ tay indra *nárah* yái ca *táva*(!)	(SK!)	+×SA(!)
	(b)	*stautrái* maghāni dadat*a*- *s*távantai	(N. B.)	H×+S(!)
	(c)	yáccha+upamáṃ suuríbhy*ä*- *v*árūtham	(N. B.)	×RLH(!)
	(d)	*su*-ābhúvaḥ jaraṇām aśnava*n tái*(!)	(N. B.)	RI+
X.65.4	(c)	pṛkṣāḥ iva mahāyant*a*- *s*u-rātáyaḥ	(SK.!)	LH
	(d)	daivā- *s*tavantai mánuṣ*aibhi*- *s*ūráyaḥ(!)	(SK!—cf.Gr.)	+H(!)

Here we have "*tā*va, tvām nāraḥ, rāth*ā*iḥ", considered by the *kavi* as (in the *á*!) *equivalently long* under the influence of *both* the accent and the rhythm-position (cf. "yácchā", *without* final accent, but as word-final—cf. 30. 4c+65. 4c!—in a rhythm-protected place). The SK (*S*aṃhitā-*K*āra) editor can do nothing about it without ruining the metre still further with his *quantity-only* prosody (vs. the archaic kavis' *quantity+accent* one!), and therefore, he has to lump it—as ārṣa, poor fellow!—forced by the numerous other such cases, of which "jána- +páñca jánāḥ" are conspicuous examples (in triṣṭubh-*ends*!)—cf. Gr. for near-miss remarks on "jána-, n raḥ, rātha"-, etc. (q. v). But the moment he gets half a chance, the SK tries—in pukka "traditional" vidūṣaka-paṇḍit's style—to dodge that "flaw" (thinks *he* !) by somehow variating the subsequent parallel texts, especially to avoid "trite punar-ukti"—as above, in the obvious case of VII.30.4a vs. V.33.5a *against* the natural demands of context and style, with *his* "daiva" vs. "*táva*" or "náraḥ"!). But SK-acolytes *will* swallow *any*thing without wincing! Note also the above X.65.4c, where the SK dodges the "faulty" pāda-final rhythm by intruding *his* odd "mánuṣāya" (*pace* G.!)"—cf. Gr. for parallels s.v. "stu". But there was *no* metrical flaw for the kavi, who used a normal archaic haplology, as also in VII.30.4c!.

Let us add here the SK's mis-śruti and misanalysis causing other errors: in V.33.5a

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words concerned is inserted *in the text.* Long vowels: ā, ī, ū, ṝ. A *short* vowel with *length*-value appears as ä, ï, ü, ṛ̈, a *long* vowel with *accent* as â, î, û, ṛ̂, or á, í, ú, ṛ́. *Diphthongs* go in archaic form: *e=ai, o=au, ai=āi*, au=āu; *if* resolved, they are: *ayi, avu*... or *a-i, a-u*...; and long vowels: *ā=aa*...Any other details will be clear from the context.

("indra"), 5b("yātáś ca ráthāḥ" vs. "yáantaś ca ráthāíḥ"!)—cf. X.40.1a vs. I.141.8a =yáan ráthaḥ ná"), 5c ("ahi-śūṣma sátvā" vs. "sá tvā́ṁ", and "jagamyāt" vs. "jagamyāḥ" cf. *ab*!), 5d (dis-order and mistaken analysis of the haplology "háv-yáḥ", context-indicated!) and in the parallel, VII.30.4a (as above, and "daiva" filched from X.65.4d for rhythm+variety), 4b ("ṣtautrái" vs. the SK's "śūra" for euphony, against the context), 4c(dis-order to "save" *his* verse—wrongly), 4d(pseudo-kṣaipra, verse-ruining, and subject mising, by SK's mis-analysis of "aśnav*an tái*", cf. Gr., s.v. "aś" in *parasm.*!). In X.65.4c with rhythm-lengthening of the final word-hrasva together with haplology as in VII.30.4c!, in the cases of "maháyant*ă*"- and "s*au*ríbhyă-"); in 4d an outrageous *case*-change by our SK vidūṣaka-paṇḍit—who is simply ignorant of the kavi's haplology! —to get *his* end-rhythm! But cf. Gr. for parallels+sense vs. the SK's foolish filching from I.117.21b(context!).

The result is *a typically representative specimen of the Saṃhitā-text as SK-palimsested distortion of the ṛṣi-kavis' genuine aud far-superior and perfectly metrical and sense-making Ṛgveda in its pristine form of quantity-cum-accent metre, prosody and language-idiom.*

And now the irrefragable testimony of those *bi*syllablic words is solidly confirmed by that of *tri*-syllabic ones in their serried battallions of "ávasai, ávasaḥ, ávasā", and similar nouns ("sáhas, śávas..") together with "átithiḥ", etc., which had already led the master-mind of an Oldenberg (in his excellent "Prolegomana", too woefully neglected by Indian ṛgvedic scholarship, alas!) to the clever near-miss of postulating "a special way of *pronunciation*, though *not* of formation (as "ávas", etc.) for those words"—*all* of them marked by the *one single common* characteristic of the "udātta" *accent*!, which is what forced the present writer to the *only possible logical* conclusion (the crown of fifty years of text-critical ṛgvedic research) of the *prosodical length-equivalent value* of that accent *under* the influence of the metrical *rhythm-scheme.*

And this showed that the *Ṛgveda* kavis were in an archaic-linguistic stage of *accent+quantity*-prosody, while the trend of the *living* language was *beginning* to develop into the *post*-vedic, *pre*-classic and finally *classic* style of *quantity-only* metrical prosody, where accent simply does *not* count or even any more *exist*! And this was the linguistic-prosodical stage in which *the SK*-agency (about five-hundred years later!) lived and gave the *final* shape to the traditional Saṃhitā in what Oldenberg (with Arnold, "*Vedic Metre*") calls it 'orthoepic diaskeuasis". Hence came the SK's "love's labour lost" of *transposing* the *archaic* text-state into the *new* one by steering a midway-course between the two, preserving, as far as possible, characteristics of the ancient "chandas" while incorporating the *later* standards of his own "vyākaraṇa" as *paramount* even *against* the kavis' own archaic vyākaraṇa, saṃdhi *and* chandas, in case of conflict! But *that had to mis*lead the SK far

beyond the mere orthoepy, since the change in "pronunciation only" often altered *and* ruined the very soul of "ṛg"—its ***rhythm***! Hence comes Arnold's justified remark that even ***alone*** the indiscriminate kṣaipra-value of *y*, *v* turns the *Ṛgveda* into a "*padya*-veda", as far as its ***metrical*** value is concerned, not to speak of other values—which is bad enough!

But the SK is concerned with more than *mere* pronunciation: he wants to produce a "*ṛg*-veda", as far as his traditional material permits, with as *few* as possible but as *many* as required changes within rather broad limits of sense-preserving and *even* "improving" (according to *his* lights)—and to present to the śiṣṭas of *his* time a text worthy of the ṛṣis *and* of *his* cultured audience and *its* literary taste and standards. The very fact of the SK's "updating" of the whole *Ṛgveda* text in function of his *younger* "vyākaraṇa", rough-shod trampling not only on the old one, but, what is more, of the ṛg's *vital-essential* metre and rhythm, evidently proves that the SK is *not* and *will* not be a *mere echo*-transmitter (as the *post*-Saṃhitā tradition, *exceptionally* for India, did become as a sort of literary "tour de force"!) but an *editor-redactor* with *extra*-textual(!) objectives and standards *besides* and *beyond* and *even against* the *mere literal* fidelity, more in the line of the incorrigibly correcting-improving trends of the *Mahābhārata* + *Rāmāyaṇa* text-transmission—*the typically* Indian one, even in the age of *manuscriptal* handing down! Hence came the transpositions, substitutions, modifications and changes of all sorts that we observe in the three texts above—besides misinterpretations of the oral-auricular śruti!—are the natural result of misguided care that loved its object only too well but disastrously unwisely. Add to this that the SK was the compiler-editor of a *collection* of hymns (of traditionally-conventionally *repetitive* themes *and* bards!) to be *memorised*, with their treacherously memory-confusing similar-identical pratīkas and phraseology and often-boring sameness (the decried "punar-ukti" of the "śiṣṭāḥ"!)—and you have all the ingredients that go to make a "Saṃhitā-Palimpsest" as typified by the above sample-texts, particularly with the aggravating circumstance of the SK's "salto mortale" from the *archaic accent* + *quantity* prosody to *his* own *quantity—only* classical one. And as for seeing *parallelisms* and possibilities of patching one text with shreds of another (as bits of one all-embracing śruti)—that is child's play for *memorising* virtues; who had the *whole Ṛgveda* at their memory's finger-tips!

Let us give a "simple" instance, connected with the above texts:

VII.30.4(a)	vayám tay indra náraḥ yái ca *táva*	(N. B.)	×+A(!)
(b)	*stautrái* maghā́ni dádat*a*- stávant*ai*		S×H(!)

The context demands 'stávant*ai*" as shown in X.65 above:

4(c)	pṛkṣā́ḥ iva mahāyantā̈- *s*u-rātáyaḥ		H
(d)	daivā́- *s*tavantai manuṣaibh*i* sūráyaḥ	(SK!)	H+(!)

The SK's vidūṣaka-paṇḍit-like cross- polinization and cross-differentiation by means of imagined ūhya is worthy of one of my would-be-critics' commentary on I.25.21.c (cf. *ANNALS*, l.c.) and "beats the band" of his own timi-timiṅgila yes-acolytes! And one of his differentiations is "stavant*a*" vs. "stavant*ai*", if you please. But this he needs in order to back another such "vyatyaya" which Sāyaṇa's resourceful imaginativeness thinks *he* can conjure up from his bhāṣya-kāra's bag-o-tricks:

V.17.5	(a)	nú ū naḥ ā+*ihi* vā́r*i*yam	(SK!)	RSI(!)
	(b)	ágnai sacanta sūráyaḥ	(SK!)	S
cf.16.5	(a)	nú *u* naḥ ā́+ihi(!) vā́r*i*yam	(N. B.)	RI
	(b)	ágnai gṛṇānáḥ ā́ bhara	(N. B.)	=
VII.74.5	(a)	ádhā yánt-*aś*vínā *nárah*(!)	(N. B.)	+HSI(!)
	(b)	pṛ́kṣ*a*- *s*acanta sūráyaḥ	(N. B.)	HL
	(c)	tā́ yaṃsataḥ maghávadbhyaḥ dhruvā́m yáśaḥ	—	
	(d)	ná-*a*satyā+*utá naḥ* ch*a*díḥ	(N. B.)	×+SRLH(!)

In all these three cases the verb is an injunctive or subjuntive though the SK's woeful mess in the last one, shows to what lengths he is prepared to go to mis-correct the original when faced by the kavis' archaisms vs. the demands of *his* vyākaraṇa+metre: 5a substitution, addition+suppression! and cf. Gr., s.v. "nṛ" 3!; 5d filling up the verse—vs. the SK's "six" syllables!—to give the slip to the kavi's archaism, to saṃdhi, haplology and "ch*a*díḥ" vs. *his* own "ch*ar*díḥ"!—making it look as if the kavi had meant "sacant*a* =sacant*ai*". He accepts it for *his* verse, although the kavi could then have said: "sacantai pṛkṣ*a*- *s*ūráyaḥ"—as he could too: "cha*d*ís *c*-+*a*smábhy*a* dhiṣ*ṇi*yā", cf. :

VIII.5.14	(a)	asyá pibatam aśvinā	(N. B.)	L(!)
	(b)	mádhvaḥ rātásya dhiṣṇ*i*yā(!)	(N. B.)	R
VIII.26.12	(a)	yuvā́-dattasya dhiṣṇ*i*yā(!)		R
	(b)	áh*ă*r-ahar vṛṣaṇā máhy*a*(!) śikṣatam		+(!)

Note the archaisms and the accent and rhythm-value, without which 14a+12c + VII.74×5cd are absolutely unmetrical—the same as the rightly treasured famous gāyatrī:

III.62.10	(a)	tát(!) sắvitúḥ váraiṇ*i*yam	(N. B.)	LR(!)
	(b)	*rādh*aḥ daivásya dhīmahi	(N. B.)	S(!)
	(c)	(!)y*á*- *n*aḥ dhíy*a*- *sá* caudáyāt	(N. B.)	×HS

The SK *had to* meddle *and* muddle this ancient heirloom in *his* typically pedantic vidūṣakaway to teach his ṛṣi-grandfather Saṃskṛt with an eye to "enhancing" by filching from ;

I.141.1(a) bá*t* itthā tá*t* vápuṣai dhāyi darśatám =

(b) daivásya bhárgaḥ sáhasaḥ yá*t* ájani (N. B.) SA(!)

Note thus the SK's woe-begone "yátaḥ jáni" that makes no sense but gives *him* the verse and rhythm, which this kavi gets with *his* archaic accent-value *and* normal augment! But changing words, dropping augments and otherwise man-mishandling the text is just part of the SK's job. And fancy a kavi asking Savitar to give *him* the *god's own* "bhárgaḥ"! Yet the SK felt he *had* to variate from the sensible and sense-making :

I.159.5 (c) asmáhayaṃ dyā́vā-pṛthivī́ su-caitúnā =

(b) rayíṃ dhattaṃ vásumantaṃ śata-gvínam =

(a) tát rā́dhaḥ adyá savitúḥ váraiṇiyam (N. B.) R

(b) vayáṃ daivásya(!) prasavái manāmahai =

The SK pedantically inverts hemistich-order so as to *end* with the hymn's twin-deities—leaving the "tát rā́dhaḥ" hanging by the neck (the vidūṣaka!), though "tát" evidently *must* refer to a *preceding cd*! But our SK is like *that* "for caviar to the general" of his yes-acolytes, alas! And a similar thing he has perpetrated in the Sāvitrī-tṛca, whose *content*-logic demands the order :

**12 (a) víprāḥ(!) vípraṃ savī*táar*- (cf.V.81.1!) S×H(!)

(b) daiváṃ yajñ*ā́i*- *ṣu*-vṛktíbhiḥ (cf. VII.20.7a) +×H(!)

(c) namasyánti dhiyā́+iṣit*ám*(!) (N. B.) +

11(a) vayáṃ(!) daivásya *sā̈*vitúḥ (SK!) (N. B.)×L(!)

(b) vājayántaḥ púraṃdh*i*yā(!) =

(c) bhágasya rātím īmahai =

**10 (a) tát(!) s*ā̈*vitúḥ váraiṇ*i*yam (N. B.) (cf. I.159.5) LR(!)

(b) *rā́dh*aḥ daivásya dhīmahi— (N. B.) S

(c) y*ā́*-(!) *na*ḥ dhíy*a*- *sá* caudáyāt (N. B.) ×HS(!)

The use of the *explicative* construction ("yát-tát") is a less familiar one: "We would wish to possess (get) *that* desirable gift of Savitar—(*namely*) *that he* (Savitar) should incite (promote, impel) our thougts". Our vidūṣaka-SK had missed-messed the whole text, as shown by his foolish "y*áḥ*"—dutifully swallowed by all SK-acolytes, East *and* West! He had also changed the stanza-order misled by I.141.1 and by the prominence that the gāyatrī had attained in his time as we know and as indicated by his mishandling of I.159.1 (supra).

A look at our text-critically reconstructed texts above should convince any text-critically conscious ṛgvedic scholar that the SK's baneful-palimpsesting activity is a ubiquitous-

iniquitous factor wrestling with an archaic text (*without* the tool of *archaism*!) and fumbling for "solutions of despair", as in III. 62. 12a+11a and 10bc (with its accent value !) and in our "simple" specimen VII. 74. 5b together with 5b—leading us to our checking of all texts with "dhiṣṇiyā" as pāda-final (for a *possible* solution) :

VII. 72. 3(c) ā-vívasan ráudasī dhiṣṇ*iya*—+*imái* (!?)
= ā-vívasan dhiṣṇ*iyai* ràudas*í*+*imái* (!) (N. B.) ×HR
(d) vïprāḥácchā n*á*-*a*satyā vivakti ×L
cf. (a) út u stáumāsaḥ aśvinauḥ abudhran × (N. B.)

(b) jām*í* bráhmāṇ*i* uṣásaś ca daivī́ḥ +R

This has the elements of the SK's VII. 74. 5 flop and his obvious variety-quest near-by :

cf. VII. 67.1.(a) prátï vāṃ rátham *aśvināu* jarádhyāi ×LAS(!)
(b) havíṣmatā námasā yajñíyaina (N. B.) S (?!)

=haviṣmatā yaj*a*ñái—*ná*masā *ca* (N. B.) ×SRHAI (!)
(c) y*á*- *v*āṃ dūtáḥ ná nṛpatī ájīgar; d×H
(d) sūnúḥ n*á* *á*cchā pitárā vivakmi ×R (!)

Result : out of 15 cases of "dhiṣṇ*i*yā" in the *Ṛgveda*, it appears as pāda-final in two other *anuṣṭubh*-pādas, and the SK has good (for *him*) reason to variate the pair aśvinā+dhiṣṇ*i*yā (as the kavi himself manifestly does in the nearby—SK-messed !—"nṛpaṭī" for aśvināu + dhiṣṇiyāu" in VII. 67. 1) especially as anuṣṭubh-pāda-end ! Hence with all those examples of SK-redactorial "dynamism" we would not hesitate to accept (*if* necessary !) :

VII. 74. 5(b) sácant*ai* pṛ́kṣ*a*—*s*ūráyaḥ (possible !) ×H

as a typical specimen of the SK's mis-correction, mis-transposition and archaism-dodging (or, rather ignorance) for the sake of saving *his* metre vs. the kavi's metrically correct *archaic* texts. But the *real* solution further up shows it to be *wrong here.*

II. AN APODICTIC SPECIMEN CASE : "SAHASAḤ YAHAU"

With the above findings in mind we can now proceed to show in a very particular case the importance of the udātta for the text-critical re-construction of the UR-*Ṛgveda* as against the SK's Saṃhitā-*Palimpsest.*—It is the *very odd* "sahasaḥ yahau" !—which is a sheer SK's fake to wriggle out of the metrical difficulty that an accent-value poses for *him* (*not* for the ṛsi-kavis !).

The SK obviously intends it to mean the well-known "sahasaḥ *putra*" applied to Agni (as "śavasaḥ patai" to Indra), but it occurs in metrical contexts, where (for *him*) neither "sáhasaḥ putráḥ" nor "putráḥ sáhasaṣ" can be metrical ! But "yahú" (or "yahvá") does

not mean *son* (as we shall see) anywhere else—cf. Gr. and his acrobatic efforts to explain away the difficulty. Let us take Gr.'s own entries in *his* order :

I. 26. 10(a) viśvaibhiḥ daiváy *aṅgiraḥ* (N. B.) ×+SH (!)
(b) imáṃ yajñ—idámū vácaḥ (N. B.) HI(!)
(c) cánaḥ dhāḥ sahasaḥ yahau (SK!) (!?)
(d) cánaḥ dhāḥ *putra* sähasaḥ(!) (N. B.) L×S(!)

Cf. VI. 10. 6(a) ágnäy imáṃ yaj*añ*—uśá*n* cánaḥ dhāḥ ×LH(!)

For (possible) "amṛta—" cf. Gr.—The context simply *demands* "with all the *gods*" obviously; but "daiváiḥ" ruins the verse incurably, while the equivalent (cf.Gr.) "amṛ́tai- is quite unviable for the SK—but not for the kavi ! Hence the haplology "víśvaibhiḥ ā-mṛ́t*ai-*" *would* be the only help but for the above *real right* solution—cf. Gr., q. v.+III. 24. 4ab :

III. 24. 4(a) ágnai víśvaibhiḥ *aṅgiraḥ* (!) (cf. VI. 15. 16a) SH
(b) daiváibhiḥ (!) mahayā gíraḥ (cf. Gr.) =

VI. 12. 6(a) Sá tvám naḥ *ārái* ıídāyāḥ *uruṣya* (cf. Gr.) SI
(b) ágnäy- ag*n*-*id*bhiḥ mánuṣäy-idhānáḥ (N. B.) ×LS
(c) váiṣï rāyáḥ yáasi ducchúnāḥ vi; (N. B.) L+×R(!)
(d) su-vír*aaḥ* śatáṃ hímāḥ *ta*raima (N. B.) ×R+S

The SK'S vidūṣaka-gaffe in 6*a*+*c*+*d* (besides *b* too !) seems incredible—but is a fact, whose correction above should convince any real ṛgveda-scholar who knows his SK—cf. the following data (besides VI. 14. 5ab+V. 87. 6d—since an SK who dares *that*, will dare *any* text-meddling, especially in conjunction with *6c*, leave alone *6d* !) :

VI. 11. 6(a) daśasyá naḥ pur*u*-anīka hautar +R
(b) ágn y ag*n*-í*d*bhiḥ mánuṣäy idhānáḥ (N. B.) ×LA+H (!)
(c) rāyáḥ sūnau sahas*a*-(!) *v*āvasānáḥ (N. B.) H(!)
(d) áti srasaima vṛjanaṃ *ná aṃ*haḥ (cf. Gr.) RL

+VI. 10. 2(a) tám *ū śṛṇu* (!) puru-anīka hautar (N. B.)+SR (!)
(b) ágnäy agní*d*bhiḥ mánuṣäy-idhānáḥ (N. B.) ×LAH (!)
(c) stáumaṃ yáṃ *sma* māmat*aiyásya* śūṣám (N. B.)S+(!)
(d) ghṛtáṃ ná śäcimatáyaḥ pávantai (N. B.) A (!)

It should be clear that agní*d*bhiḥ mánuṣäy—is a haplology—

This *last* form of 26(=11,6b+12,6b) above, *refrain-like* repeated in 3 *consecutive* hymns is the nearest to the original kavi's form deformingly variated by our vidūṣaka-SK precisely because of its archaic rhythm and the SK's own mis-śruti. He keeps the first occurring

(10. 2b) form as ārṣa and variates the two immediately-consecutively following ones (11, 6b+12,6b) almost refrain-like identical (bar the pratīka) for mutual support ! And this latter one he could have applied to the younger text of I.26. 10a (supra)—except that there the SK *must* have intended a variation vs. "viśvaibhiḥ daivźy- aṅgiraḥ", as shown above. And note that G.'s parallels for the SK's "agnibhiḥ" are quite unreliable props :

VII. 3. 1(a) agnī́ṃ vaḥ daivā́ṃ daiv*aai*—*s*aujáuṣāḥ (N. B.) SRH (!)
(b) yajiṣṭhaṃ háut*ār*— yaj*a*ñai kṛṇudhvam (N. B.)+HSR (!)
(c) yáḥ márt*i*yaiṣu nidhruvīḥ ṛtā́vā (N. B.) RL (!)
(d) tápur-mūrdhā ghṛt*á-a*nnaḥ p*a*v*ā*káḥ (N. B.) R+(!)

VIII. 60. 1(a) ágnay ā́ yāh*i* *daiváaiḥ* (N. B.) RS(!)
(b) háutāraṃ tvā vṛṇīmahai =

X. 141. 6(a) *t*uváṃ naḥ agnay *aṅgiraḥ* (!) (cf. V. 10. 7a)=(N. B.) S
(b) bráhma yajñā́ṃ ca vardhaya =

This last SK-case is a sheer pratīka-variation (vs. V. 10. 7a), when the kavi intended an *imitation* pure and simple (q. v.)

X. 35. 13(a) víśvai naḥ ady*á* *ūtayai* marū́taḥ (N. B.) ×S+RA (!)
(b) víśvai bhavantu agnáy*ä*-*s*ámiddhāḥ ×LA (!)
(c) víśvai naḥ daivā́ḥ áva*s*-*ā́* gamantu H+(!)
(d) víśvaṃ dravin—*v*áajaḥ *c*—*a*smáy astu HIR×

(The SK *had to* meddle as above to save *his* editorial face—while flaying the kavi's !). But in the end we cannot doubt that our SK could and *would have to* say in I. 26. 10c :

vs. "cánaḥ dhāḥ *putra s*ä̀hasaḥ (!) SL (=the kavi's own)
"cánaḥ dhāḥ sä̀hasaḥ yahau" (!?)

cf. I. 74. 5 (a) tám it su-havyám aṅgiraḥ (!) =
(b) su-daiváṃ *putra* sä̀hasaḥ (N. B.) SL×
(c) āhúḥ su-barhiṣam jánāḥ ×

+ I. 79. 4 (a) ágnai vā́jasya gáumataḥ =
(b) ī́śānaḥ *putra* sä̀hasaḥ (N. B.) S×L
(c) asmái dhaihi jāta-vaidaḥ máhi śrávaḥ =

+VII. 15. 11(a) sá naḥ rā́dhāṃs*i* ā́ bhara R
(b) ī́śānaḥ *putra* sä̀hasaḥ (N. B.) S×L
(c) bhágaḥ ca dātu vā́r*i*yam R

+VIII. 19. 12(a)	víprasya vā stuvatáḥ *putra*—*s*āhasaḥ	H+L
(b)	makṣū́tamasya rātiṣu	(cf. G) =
(c)	aváḥ-daivam upári-mart*i*yaṃ vácaḥ	×R
(d)	ágn*a*+*iṃ* vividúṣaḥ kṛdhi	(N. B.)×I
	(Cf. G. for link with 11 !)	
+VIII. 84. 5(a)	k*á*-*t*ai yajñásya n*ā́m*asā	(N. B.)H×S+IA (!)
(b)	dā́śaima *putra* sā́hasaḥ	(N. B.)×SL(!)
(c)	kát u vaucay idā́ námaḥ	(N. B.)+

The SK's mess started obviously from the mis-interpreting the syntax+context-demanded archaic "k*á*—*t*a (i) yajñásya n*ā́m*asā" with its accent-value too!—which, as we are seeing, is ubiquitously hunting our vidūṣaka, (poor man !)

cf. 1(a)	pr*áyi*ṣṭham u vaḥ ā́tihim	(N. B.) IRLA (!)
(b)	mitrā́m iva stuṣai priyám	(SK !)L(!)
2(a)	kavī́m utá prácaitasam	SL (!)
6(a)	ádhā t*u*vám *i*-*nar* karaḥ ("nar : nṛ" voc. !)	(N. B.) HRS(!)
(b)	viśvāḥ asmábhy*a* (!) su-kṣitī́ḥ	+(!)
(c)	gir*at*-*vā́*ja-dravīṇasaḥ	(N. B.) ×HL(!)
+I. 40. 2(a)	t*u*vā́m it hí márt*i*yaḥ śāvasaḥ p*a*t*ai*	(N. B.) SRA(!)
(b)	=ūpa-brūtái dhánai hitái	(N. B.) =(!)
3(a)	ácchā paṅkti-rādhasaṃ nā́r*i*yaṃ v*ii*r-(!)	(N. B.) A×RH(!)
+III. 16. 5(a)	mā́ naḥ agnay *a*mā́tayai	(N. B.)SA
(b)	mā́ *u* rīra*dh*—*a*vī́rat*ai* (VII. 1. 19)	I×+H
(c)	m*ā́*-*ā́*-gaut*ai* sahasaḥ putra mā́ nidái	(N. B.) R+L
(d)	ápa dvaiṣ-*asmát* ā́ kṛdhi	(N. B.) HS+
	(For the transfer-forms in *b*+*c* cf. Gr.)	
+II. 7. 6(a)	dr*ú*-ann*a*-*s*arpíḥ-āsutiḥ	RH
(b)	pratn*á*-*h*áutā várain*i*yaḥ	HR
(c)	sáhasaḥ putr*áḥ* ádbhutaḥ	(N. B.) ×H
VIII. 4. 5(a)	prá cakrai (!) sáhasā sáhaḥ	(!?)
=	prá *ś*akr*a* (!) *śáv*asā *śáv*aḥ	(S. K !) +S
(b)	babhá*ṅktha* many*ú* many*ú*nā	(N. B.) (SK) SH
(c)	viśvai tay indra pṛtanā-yávaḥ yahau	(cf. Gr.)= (!)
(d)	ni vṛkṣā́ḥ iva yaimirai	=

I. 141. 10(c) taṃ tvā nú *sūnau* sahasaḥ yuvan vayám(?) (N. B.) S(?)
(d) bhágaṃ ná kārái mah*i* rátna*m* ımahai (N. B.) S (!)

cf. VI. 5. 1(a) huvai v*a-s*ūnúṃ sàhasaḥ yúvānam H(!)

Here it is "yuvan" (vs. the *possible* "yahau") that is joined with "sūnau" (not with "sahasaḥ" *isolatedly* !) that, with the same meaning as above, fits into the context of battle-spoils, which "návyam, yuvan" *alone* do *not* seem to do. But the battle-allussion is only in the *comparison,* while the SK (and the kavi) has other problems in mind. The reason is really, that the SK shuns all possibility of mixing this clear, normal expression which would ruin the use that *he* makes of "sahasaḥ yahau" as a standing "elliptical" intended to mean, as G. mistakenly accepts : "young (son) of strength". Neither "yahvá" nor "yahú" can possibly be shown to have that meaning in the kavis' own original texts. But the SK has concocted it out of sheer metrical "need" (*his !*) and of supportive evidence, by mis-generalising and mis-constructing the few genuine occurrences of those words for his own editorial-palimpsesting ends ! Hence there is no "sahasaḥ yahau" (just like *that !*) in the *Ṛgveda* of the ṛṣi-kavis ! (Neo-lexcographer, "jagṛhi" !).

The same is abundantly confirmed by :

X. 11. 1(a) vṛṣā vṛ́ṣṇai duduhai dauhasā páy*aḥ* (N. B.) × (!)
[b) diváḥ, yahváḥ *putr*—áditaiḥ ádābh*i*yaḥ (N. B.) ×HIR (!)
(c) víśv*ā-sá* vaida váruṇ*ă*ḥ iv*ă* dh*iya*—(I. 117. 23b) +LHS
(d) sá yajñiyaḥ yajatu yajñiyān ṛtū́n (N. B.) H!

(N. B.)—The SK's "cakrai" *could* be a vocative of "cakr*íḥ*', misinterpreted as the kavi's intended verb, parallel to the one in 5b—all the more easily since there is no pāda headed "prá *ś*akr*a*" (against several "prá *cskr*—",—cf. IX. 15. 7c+Conc.) ; but it is rather the SK's wilful mending of the kavi's anuprāsa with *ś* and *a*+*ā*, as well as the "missing" verb of the kavi's *dipaka,* while miscorrecting the context-demanded verbal *2nd.* P. (q. v.) ! But the chief thing is that the SK wrongly associates *his* softening of the text (through his pet phrase—cf. infra—"*sahas*ā *sáh*aḥ") with the ware (genuine !) occurrence of "yahau" obviously="yahvá " in sense—cf. Gr !—but *not=son in anyway.* But it is the close juxta-*position of the above "sáhasā sáhaḥ+ -nāyávaḥ yahau" in the pāda-end (with other* texts—cf. infra.) that served as a kind of model for the SK's solution for *his* prosodical "impasse" here and elsewhere. This text offers the apparent difficulty that, as G. remarks, it seems to involve a "luptā upamā" in 5d. But it is precisely that presence of "yahau" (connected with *Indra, not* with "sahasaḥ" !) that explains the kavi's phrase, since, as Gr. shows, the *main* meaning is "rushing, impetuous one", which readily suggests the *storming wind* bending the trees. A somewhat different approach brings out the real tenor of another such text (to Agni !) :

This lab is *the* chief source of our SK's mis-begotten "yaḥvaḥ, yahau+sahasaḥ", since the kavi's archaism+metre simply *compels* him to drop "putrá"as more easily understandable (as ūhya ?) in so frequent (cf. Gr.) a formula as "putra+aditaiḥ", and at the same time "legitimises" (for *him* and his credulous acolytes) *his* completely aberrant "sahasaḥ yahau"—a "confirmation that he desperately needs to "save" his metre+vyākaraṇa ! His palimpsesting could not be more transparent and convincing (cf. G.'s+Gr.'s tormented comments on this topic, so painstaking—and so SK–misguided, alas !).

And now for the SK's self-reinforcing help from *his* own (desperately mis-corrected !) :

+VIII. 60. 13(a) śiśāna*a*—vṛṣabháḥ *iva* (!) (N. B.) HSL

(b) agn*i*—śṛ́ṅgai dávī-dh*u*vat (N. B.)RHL(!)

(c) tigmā́ *a*sya hán*uu* ná pratī́-dhṛṣai (N. B.) L+R (!)

(d) su-jámbh*a*—*sūnú*—*sá*hasaḥ (N. B.) H×SA (!)

cf. I. 51. 10(a) tákṣat y*á*–*tai* uśánā sáhasā s*a*h*á* (.) HAS+(!)

(b) vi ráudasī májmanā bād*a*-*tat* śávaḥ (cf. *a* !) HI (!)

(c) á́-tvā *vṛ́ṣṇaḥ tai* n*ṛ*-*manaḥ*-j*ú*v*a*ḥ vṛṣ*aṇ*-(N. B.) SHI (!)

(d) *vá*han *mádhvaḥ* pū́ryamāṇām abhi śrávaḥ ×+Id

(For the difficult 10d cf. Gr. +Gr. For *c* cf. Conc.+I, (86, 5d).

I. 50. 13(a) ayám ādityáḥ *ùt* agāt ×A(!)

(b) viśvaina sáhasa sahá (N. B.)=

cf. I.80.10(a) indr*a*-*vṛ*trásya tā́viṣīm (!) (N. B.)HA(!)

(b) niḥ ahan sáhasā s*a*há (!) (N. B.)S+R

(c) mahā́-tát (!) asya páumṣ*i*yam (N. B.)LHR

(d) y*á*-*tá*ṃ *hatvā́* ap-ā́*sṛ*jat (N. B.)LHISR(.)

(There is *only one* "sáhasā sáhaḥ" (in VIII. 4. 5a)—vs.3 "sáhas*ā* s*a*h*á*." Hence that single one is, like the two ones above, the SK's *part*-fake, but probably (alliteration !) from the *kavi's* "*ś*ávasā *ś*ávaḥ", since it refers to Indra who is especially connected with "*ś*avas" (cf. Gr.) (Neo-lexicographer, jāgṛhi !)

cf. VIII. 13. 24(a) táṃ tvā+īmahai puru-ṣṭutám =

(b) yúvā*n*—pratnābhiḥ ūt*i*—á́ H+ISA (!)

(c) ní barhíṣi priyái sad*ā* *á*dha dvitá́ RL+

The two (adjoining) tṛcas here involved glaringly un-mask the SK's palimpsesting "system" :

19 (a)	stautā́ yā́-*t*ay ánu-vrataḥ	H
(b)	ukthā́*ni* ṛtuthā́ dadhái	R
(c)	*ś*úciḥ p*a*v*ā*k*á*ḥ ucyatai sá *a*dbhut*a* (!)	(N. B.) R+(!)
20 (a)	tát ít *ind*rasya caitati	(SK !) (N. B.) S+
(b)	yū́naḥ (!) pratnáiṣu dhā́m*a*-*ā́*	(SK !) S+HI(!)
(c)	mánaḥ yátra *vi*-*ā́*dadhuḥ prácaitasaḥ	R+d (!)
21 (a)	yádi mai sakhyám ā-váraḥ	=
(b)	*índr*-*as*yá pāh*i* ándhasaḥ	(N. B.) SRH(!)
(c)	yáin*ā* víśvāḥ áti dvíṣaḥ átārima (!)	(N. B.) +
22 (a)	kadā́ tay indra girvaṇaḥ	=
(b)	stautā́ bhavāti śáṃtamaḥ	=
(c)	kadā́ naḥ gávyai vásā+*ut*-*á*ś*vi*yai dadhaḥ (!)	(N. B.) R+HI×
23 (a)	utá (!) t*yā́* sú-ṣṭutā hárı	(to 22c !) +X
(b)	vṛ́ṣaṇ-*ā́* va*kṣ*ataḥ (!) rátham	(N. B.) HI+
(c)	ajuryásy*a* *indara* *tai* yám (!) ímahai	(SK !) I(!)
24 (a)	táṃ *tvā*—īmahai puru-ṣṭutám	(to 23 c !) I (!)
(b)	*yúvān*-pratnā́bhiḥ ūtí-*ā́*	(to 20b !) SHIR
(c)	ní barhíṣi priyái sad*ā* *á*dha dvitā́	(SK !) +R

The SK's vidūṣaka-paṇḍitry starts in 24b with his "yahvám", self-"confirmed" in 20b and mixd with the salad-mess of a "rátha" sitting to the "barhíḥ" (for caviar to SK-acolytes—and for G.'s misses+near-misses galore !). Poor ṛṣi-kavis under the thum-screw of the SK's "know-better" vyākaraṇa and "editorial dynamism", alas ! But his timitimiṅgila-chelas *will* still swear by *his* "unchanging-unchangeable" Saṃhitā-*palimpsest* —woe is them !—to the undoing of ṛgvedic *real* text-criticism, East *and* West !

Yet the use of "yahva" for *Agnī* (*and* Indra) *is* securely guaranteed— cf. Gr.+ Conc.— X. 110. 3c ("yahv*a*-*h*áutā" !) +IV. 5. 6 ("yahv*a* pṛṣṭhám") etc.—but *son*= "yahau" is a sheer SK-fake *every*where (for caviar to Neo-lexicographers !) and—as said—concocted for metrical or supportive reasons ! Hence here is the above case with *SK's* own own "yahváḥ aditaiḥ" *righted* :

X. 11. 1 (a)	vṛ́ṣā vṛ́ṣṇai duduhai dáuhasā páy*aḥ*	×
(b)	diváḥ, yahváḥ pūtr-áditaiḥ ádābh*i*yaḥ	×SR

Cf. Gr. s. v. "ấditi"—SK's *own* support !—***against***) :

II. 28. 3(c)	yūyấṃ naḥ putrấḥ ấditaiḥ ấdabdhāḥ		=
+IV.42.4(b)	ấdhārayaṃ *dyấm* sấdanä*y* ṛtấsya		IS(!)
(c)	ṛtáina putrấḥ ấditaiḥ ṛtấvā	(SK!)	=
(d)	utấ tridhấtv vı́ bhū*m-a*prathäyam(!)		×HL(!)
cf. 2(d)	sấṃ ráudasī āirayaṃ dhārấyaṃ ca		(!)
+VII. 41.2 (b)	vayấṃ putrấṃ ấditaiḥ yä́-*vi*-dhartấ		LH
+VII. 60.5 (d)	śagmấsaḥ putrấḥ ấditaiḥ ấdabdhāḥ		=(!)
X. 72.8 (a)	aṣṭấu putrấsaḥ ä́ditaiḥ		(N. B.) A (!)
X. 185.3 (a)	yấsmāi putrấsaḥ ä́ditaiḥ		(N. B.) A (!)

It is obvious that the SK (metre—idiom-compelled !) has purposely chosen X. 11. 1b for an "*ūhya*" (cf. VII. 60. 5d+II. 28. 3c, ***and*** in the ***same*** maṇḍala as X. 72. 8+185. 3 !) ***and*** for ***pseudo***-confirmation of ***his*** "sahasaḥ yahau"—since under those circumstances ***his*** intended (and otherwise not corroborated !) meaning for "yahvấ—yahú" could not be left in doubt ! There is more wile and guile in our vidūṣaka-SK than meets the eyes at first sight !

Similar is the case with the other such text :

I. 141. 10 (a)	t*u*vä́m agnai śaśamānấya sunvatấi		RL
(b)	rayı́ṃ ya*j*iṣṭha daivấtā*ti* *i*nvasi	(N. B.)	+SR (!)
(c)	tấṃ tvā nú *sūnau* (!) sahasaḥ yuvan vayấm		+S(SK !)
(d)	bhấgaṃ nấ kārấi m*ấ*hi r*ất*nam *ī*mahai (cf. b !)		+S(!)
	(In *b—c* SK vs. anuprāsa ! — *No* "mahi-ratn*a*"!)		
cf. V. 5. 1 (a)	huvấi v*a-s*ūnúṃ sấhasaḥ yúvānam	(N. B.)	H (?)

(The prosodical case is the same as in "putrāsaḥ ä́ditaiḥ" and ***could*** equally well be :.... vayấṃ putra sähasaḥ").

Another odd case is "putra śavasaḥ" for Indra :

VIII. 92. 14 (a)	t*u*vấysú putra sähasaḥ		(!?)
	=t*u*vä́y *ı́t* *ś*avasaḥ p*a*t*ai* (!)	(SK)	RLS×
	(b) ấvṛtran kāma-kấtayaḥ		=
	(c) nấ tvấṃ *kấś c* — +*ấ*t*i* *i*nd*a*ra	(N. B.)	SḤId (!)

Indra is *the* "śavasaḥ patai" (cf. Gr.) and the SK *would* try for variety here vs. the nearby VIII. 90. 5b!+97. 6b!+45. 20b! +6. 21a!—*all* pāda-*ending*. It is obviously an SK's pseudo-aping of Agni's "sahasaḥ putra, putra sahasaḥ". And the SK "compensates" (surely purposely !) *and* variates vs. V. 6. 5b in :

V. 6. 9 (c) utá naḥ út pupūriyāḥ (N. B.)dRL
(d) ukthái*s*u śavasaḥ patai (!?) (cf. V. 6. 5b)

=ukthái*s*u ś*au*ciṣah patai— (N. B.)—×SL

I. 145. 1 (a) pṛccát-*a*gnĺm sá jagā*m*-*á* sá vaida *ca* A×SHI (!)

(b) sá cíkitvấn īyatai *s*-*ánu* īyatai (N. B!) LHSA (!)
(c) tásmin ṣanti pra-śíṣah tásmi*n* iṣṭáyaḥ +

(d) sá vấjasya páti-*sá* sūnú-sáhasaḥ (SK!) ×SH+I

(The SK is non-plussed by the kavi's archaisms in *qbd* and by the pseudo-analogy of the *frequent* "śavasas pati"-phrase as pāda-end—which is *not* Agni but Indra, though Agni *could possibly* be so called; but "pátiḥ" *here* goes with "vấjasya", cf. Gr., s. v. ! The kavi's haplology-style and metre have obviously bamboozzled our pedantic-pedestrian vidūṣaka-SK !)

Cf. IV. 24. 1 (a) kấ suṣṭutiḥ śávasaḥ sūnúm índram (SK!) (!?)

=kấ suṣṭutiḥ śávasaḥ *pátim* indram (N. B.) SA (!)
(b) arvācīnáṃ rấdhasay ấ vavartat =

(c) dadī́-*hí* vásū gṛṇatái savīrấ HLA+×(!)
(d) sá gáu-patiḥ niṣ-ṣídhāṃ näḥ *utá tmán* (V. 43. 7d) SL×(?)
=sá gaup*á*aḥ niṣ-ṣídhāṃ näḥ *utá tmán* (N. B.) SR+L(!)

cf. V. 43. 9 (c) yấ rấdhasā cauditấrā matīnấm =

(d) yấ vấjasya draviṇaḥ-dấ(v) utá tmán =(!)
(The SK's "janāsaḥ" in IV. 74. 1d is for *his* metre !)

IV. 34. 6 (a) ấ näpātaḥ śavasaḥ yātanā naḥ (!) (cf. 3a!+35. 1+8)AI
(b) úpa+imáṃ ya*j*-*ná*masā hūyámānāḥ (N. B.) H(!)

(c) sa-jáuṣasaḥ *suurá*-*yá*sya ca sthá RLH+
(d) mádhvaḥ pāta ratna-dhấḥ índravantaḥ =

+I. 161. 14 (c) adbhíḥ yāti váruṇ*a*—+*utá* samudhrấiḥ HIL(!)
(d) yuṣmấn icchántaḥ śavasaḥ nápātaḥ =

+IV. 37. 4 (c) índrasya sūnau śavasaḥ napātaḥ, (vs. Gr.)=
(Indra is *not*—cf. G.—"sūnú-śávasaḥ" !)

VIII. 90. 2 (a) *tuvám* dātā́ prathamáḥ rā́dhasām asi =
(b) satyáḥ īśāna-kṛ́t asi (N. B.)SI×(!)
(c) tuvi-dyumnásya yuj*i*y-ā vṛṇīmahai R
(d) *táva*+indra śavasaḥ *patai* (!) (SK) S+I(!)
(For the SK cf. 5b+c+VIII. 25. 5a+SK-messed text!) :
(5c) *tuvám* vṛtrā́ *aprati* haṃs*i* áikaḥ ít (N. B.)×+R(!)
(d) cárṣaṇī-dhṛt ánutt*aa* (SK!) ×+R(!)

The SK props *his* variation—cf. IV. 24. 1a!—of this phrase misled by the Ṛbhus' case above; but Indra is *not* "śavasəḥ+sahasaḥ putra+sūnu—" !

And the same goes for the next text) :

+VIII. 25. 4 (a) mahántāu mit*ar*´-várun— (N. B.) HR
(b) sam-rā́jā d*iváḥ* ásurā (N. B.) A+
(c) ṛtā́vānāu ṛtám ā́ ghauṣataḥ bṛhát =
(5a) t*ā́u* pā́t*i* śávasaḥ maháḥ (SK!) HS
(b) sūnū́ dákṣasya su-krátū (N. B.)=
(c) sṛprā́-dānū iṣá-*vā́*stu kṣitā́h ádhi ×HL
(6a) sám yā́ dā́n*ū*-n*i*-yaimáthuḥ +
(b) div*i*yā́ pā́rthivān*i* *ca* (!) (SK!—cf. a!) R+S(!)
(c) nábhasvatīḥ vṛṣṭáyaḥ vāṃ carant*u* ā́ ×R

V. 52. 2 (a) tái hí sthirásya śávasaḥ (N. B.) A(?)
= tai hí sthirásy*a* índ*ara*— (N. B.) SHR(!)
(b) sákhāy*a*-*s*ánti dhṛṣṇ*ávaḥ* (!) (SK!) H+(!)
(c) tái yā́ma*n* ā́ dhṛṣadvinaḥ +
(d) tmánā p*aa*nti śáśvataḥ (cf. 4d!) R
(For 2a cf. Gr. : I. 101. 4b+III. 30. 2c+X. 96. 7b+VIII. 33. 9b+92. 28b!—And for the SK's text cf. :)

V. 52. 5 (a) árhantaḥ yái su-dā́navaḥ =
(b) *nár*-u*t*—+ásāmi—śávasaḥ (N. B.) HIA(!)
(c) pr*á* *arkám* yajñ*i*yaibh*i*yaḥ (N. B.) RS(!)
(d) árcā *nṛbhyáḥ* marúdbh*i*yaḥ (SK) SR×

(Our SK-vidūṣaka as "editor-in-chief !—alas !)

+6 (c)	ánu ainā́n ca vidyútaḥ	(SK !) ×SR+(!)
(d)	jájhhatiḥ iva nā́riiḥ	(cf. Gr.) RS(!)
(e)	vṛṣṭíḥ ca arta abhriíyā	(SK !) SR
	(SK-vidūṣaka-editor !—cf. 6d+8d vs. saṃdhi !)	
+8 (a)	út śárdha-śaṃsa mā́rutam	xH
(b)	ṛ́bhvasaṃ satyá-śávasam (cf. 5b+2a)	xA(!)
+9 (d)	ádriṃ bhindanti áujasā (!)	(N. B.) R
+10(e)	aitáibhiḥ máhya(!) nā́mabhiḥ	(SK) +
+11(d)	cátrā́ rūpā́ṇi dárśiyā	(SK) R
+13(c)	tám ṛṣai marútām gaṇám	(N. B.) +
+14(a)	iccha+ṛṣai gaṇá-mā́rutam	(N. B.) xH
(c)	divā́-vā dhṛṣṇú-aujasam(!)	(cf. Gr.) SH+(!)
(d)	dhībhi-stutám iṣaṇya tám	×H+I(!)
15(a)	nú ú manvānáḥ aiṣaam	R
(b)	vatsáḥ ná vakṣáṇānaam	(N. B.) SRd+(!?)
(c)	dānā́ sacaita añjíbhiḥ	R
(d)	yā́ma-śru-táibhi-sūri-sám	HI+
I. 132. 5(f)	índrāy aukīyaṃ didhiṣanta dhītáyaḥ	LA
(g)	daivā́n ácchā ná dhītáyaḥ	=
I. 139. (f)	ádhā prá í-naḥ úpa yantu dhītáyaḥ	SH
(g)	daivā́n ácchā ná dhītáyaḥ	=
VIII. 103. 2 (a)	prá dáivaḥ-dāsaḥ agníḥ ait	(N. B.) I(!)
(b)	daivā́n ácchā ná májmanā	=
(c)	mātáram ánu pṛthivím ví vāvṛtai	A(!)
(d)	tasthā́u nā́kasya sā́navi	=

(These last 3 texts misled the SK in V. 52. 15 !)

V. 52. 16 (a)	prá ít mai bandhú-aiṣay ā́	SRI
(b)	gáaṃ vaucanta sūráyaḥ	R+
(c)	pṛ́śniṃ vaucanta mātáram	=
(d)	adhā pitáram iṣmínam	=
17 (a)	saptá mai saptá śākínaḥ	(N. B.)+(!)
(b)	áikaḥ-aika-śatā́ daduḥ	(N. B.)+(!)
(c)	yamúnāyām ádhi śrutám	=

(d) út rā́dhaḥ gáviyă-mr̥jai HRL
(e) ní rā́dhaḥ áśviyă-mr̥jai (Echo) HRL

III RESULTS

The chief result of the above study is the *fact of the prosodical accent-value as equivalently long.* The archaic metrical prosody had a whole series of factors : number of syllables, rhythm-pattern, yati or *yati-like* position, *archaic* saṃdhi system, accent (actual or potential) and, syllable-quantity (in the traditional sense). Of all these the SK has at his unchanged disposal *only* (like the post-vedic prosody) *quantity*, while having lost also another wide-ranging and disturbing (for him) factor : *haplology*. This is a problem not of his own making but born of the linguistic-philological evolution. His vidūṣaka-paṇḍitry is rooted not in his (well-meant) intentions, but in his naive presumption that *he* can do justice to his "salto mortale" *transposition* with *quantity alone* as rhythm-builder within a vastly *younger+different* cast-iron saṃdhi system. No wonder his product is (as it was bound to be) so palimpsesting by catastrophical for his "dynamic editorialism, sitting between the two incompatible stools of *preservation* and *reformation* of a hymn-*collection*, as described further up. Hence the *rule of thumb* for a r̥gvedic text-critic (who is aware of the SK's all-pervading "love's labour lost !) is : try to build, with the SK's wording, verses that are perfectly rhythmical, sense-making and idiomatic, *but archaic*, (that is, of a type that the SK, with *his* vyākaraṇa and saṃdhis, could not possibly stomach)—and you are on the right way (if not already there !) to the r̥ṣi-kaviś own text *behind* the Saṃhitā-Palimpsest. In our texts above, on the right hand margin, we give the *symbols* of the *re-archaisation* steps demanded by the SK's frantic efforts to dodge the (for *him*) unbearable offences against *his* vyākaraṇa and other editorial preconceptions which for him (as a later "śiṣṭa" !) are inviolably sacrosanct. And how shrewdly acrobatic those dodges often are—but how vidūṣaka-like vis-a-vis of the r̥ṣi-kavis' own *genuine* words ! Just tinsel vs. gold !

Other important results : "sahasaḥ yahau" is an SK's sheer metrical subterfuge; "yahú, yahváḥ" do *not ever* mean "young" or "son" (*pace* the SK et *omnes* !) as shown above. Agni is *not* "shasaḥ páti—", nor is Indra "savasaḥ sūnú, putrá", nor are Indra+Varuṇa "nápātā śavasaḥ", nor Agni "áditáiḥ yahváḥ", of course ! And so on ! (Neo-lexicographer jāgr̥hi" !)

N. B.—The many SK's mishandlings of the text in V. 52 (to save *his* vyākaraṇa and-or metre and-or style+sense) fully confirm our emendations in connection with the accent-value in 2a, where there is no question of the kavi saying : "śávasaḥ (sthirásya) sákhāyaḥ", *pace* Gr. + G. =*omnes* SK-acolytes. Let this entire hymn serve as a final confirmation of our whole topic.

As final confirmation, we had planned to end this article with the full text-critical reconstruction of the two shibboleth-hymns V. 33+VII. 30. but space does not permit. We prefer to leave their two sample stanzas (above) together with V. 52 and the Sāvitrī-tṛca *and* the many supporting witnesses from the *whole Ṛgveda* as ample proofs, whose mutual support points to *the* one SK as palimpsesting source. Their *de*-palimpsested text is the *ṛṣi-kavis' own* on the whole and in essentials at times in all details too, as in the case of "sahasaḥ yahau", but in other cases it is open to further improvement in the light of eventual new parallel or convergent factors rediscovered—*yet always along the same method and principles here advocated.* We are constantly seeking *and* finding such new aids to a deeper and more comprehensive insight into *the SK's multi-faceted and multi-layered "method-in-madness and madness-in method"*. And we urgently request the *constructive* cooperation of all earnest and *competent* ṛgvedic scholars and text-critical specialists. It is a glorious task, both facilitated *and* hindered by *the SK's palimpsested bamboo-curtain of his Saṃhitā-text-behind and through and beyond which* shimmers the radiant *darśana* of the long-suffering *ṛṣi-kavis' own UR-Ṛgveda.*— śivā́ḥ santu pánthānaḥ" !

SECTION IV

Literature

KARUṆA RASA : ITS NATURE OF AESTHETIC PLEASURE

Satya Dev Choudhary

A *sahṛdaya* derives aesthetic pleasure not only from the *rasa*-s—*śṛṅgāra, hāsya*, etc., but also from the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka*, etc. This is a statement which from a practical and logical point of view appears to be paradoxical and fallacious. Therefore, several Sanskrit *ācārya*-s have called *rasa* as *sukhaduḥkhātmaka*, i. e. causing both pain and pleasure. Of these Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* are most prominent, because they have provided the maximum material on the subject. Their statement in this connection is '*sukhaduḥkhātmako rasaḥ*'.[1] Clarifying this maxim they have observed that while five *rasa*-s—*śṛṅgāra, hāsya, vīra, adbhuta* and *śānta*—provide pleasure, the other four *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, raudra, bhayānaka* and *bībhatsa*—cause painful feelings. The *rasa*-s of the first group are indisputably delightful, but these *ācārya*-s do not accept the second group of *rasa*-s as such. They have offered four arguments in this connection :

1. The *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka*, etc.—lead the *sahṛdaya* to some indescribable state of agony. The spectators are perturbed by them.[2] But does anybody feel perturbed during moments of pleasure ? Is there any body who enjoys such scenes on the stage as the abduction of Sītā, undraping and seizure of Draupadī by her hair, the servitude of Hariścandra under a *cāṇḍāla* (guard of the cremation ground), the death of Rohitāśva, etc. ?[3]

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1. *N. D.* 3.7.
2. भयानको बीभत्सः करुणो रौद्रो रसास्वादवताम् अनाख्येयां कामपि क्लेशदशामुपनयति । अत एव भयानकादिभिः उद्विजते समाजः । न नाम सुखास्वादाद् उद्वेगो घटते ।
N. D. p. 291.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-92.

2. The second argument is that the worldly affairs and conduct are realistically presented in poetry and drama. Poets describe the worldly pleasures in the pleasing way, and sorrows in the painful way. The pathetic condition of those, whose life is being enacted, e. g. Rāma and Sītā separated from each other, would undoubtedly be painful. Therefore, if their poetic and dramatic representation be admitted as delightful, it follows that imitation would not be real, as it would be contrary to the realities of the practical world.[1]

3. Those, who hold *rasa* to be fundamentally pleasing, may plead that just as the description or dramatisation of the touching scenes before the persons in sorrow comforts and soothes them, similarly the *rasa*-s like *karuṇa* and *bhayānaka* are pleasing and not painful. But Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra observe that in fact on such occasions too the pleasure which the afflicted persons appear to get is basically a painful experience, because that individual does not experience pleasure from the pleasant contexts (like other persons), but feels distressed. Therefore, to accept the fact that he derives pleasure from the sorrowful contexts is nothing but an illusion. Thus the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa,* etc.—are painful.[2]

4. Though the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa*, etc.—are radically painful, yet if the spectators receive supreme delight from them, it is because of the skilful acting of the actor and the brilliant composition of the poet.[3]

By this they mean that the pleasure which we get from reading the graphic and touching description of a poet, or by seeing the beautiful and captivating acting of an actor inspires us to read or witness them again and again. Thus the longing to undergo

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1. (क) कवयस्तु सुखदु:खात्मकसंसाराऽऽनुरूपेण रामादिचरितं निबध्नन्त: सुखदु:खात्मकरसानुविद्धमेव ग्रथ्नन्ति ।

(ख) तथाऽनुकार्यगताश्च करुणादय: परिदेवनाऽनुकार्यत्वात् तावद् दु:खात्मका एव । यदि चाऽनुकरणो सुखात्मन: स्यु: न सम्यग् अनुकरणं स्यात् विपरीतत्वेन इति ।

Ibid., pp. 291-92.

2. येऽपीष्टादिविनाशदु:खवतां करुणो वर्ण्यमानेऽभिनीयमाने वा सुखास्वाद: सोऽपि परमार्थतो दुखास्वाद एवं । दु:खी हि दु:खवार्तया सुखमभिमन्यते । प्रमोदवार्तया तु ताम्यति इति करुणादयो दु:खात्मान एव इति ।

Ibid., p. 292.

3. यत् पुनरेभिरपि चमत्कारो दृश्यते स रसास्वादविरामे सति यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रदर्शकेन कविनटशक्ति-कौशलेन । अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाऽऽह्लादकेन कविनटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धा: परमानन्दरूपतां दु:खात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधस: प्रतिजानते ।

1. *Ibid.*, p. 291,

that delightful experience provides pleasure to the *sahṛdaya* even when he reads a poem or witnesses a drama full of horror and pathos, otherwise the *rasa*-s are basically painful. In support of this statement they give an illustration. Just as the brave man is wonder-struck at the skill of his foe with which he strikes at him,[1] in the same way the spectator too is delightfully struck by the skill of a poet or that of an actor.

Now let us examine all these arguments. The first one has been advanced with reference to the mental perturbance of the *sahṛdaya*, and the second keeping in view the organic unity between the worldly dealings and the poetic composition. The third argument is connected with the worldly sympathy and consolation, and the fourth one takes into account the external beauty of poetry as well as skilful performance of the actor.

Obviously all the four arguments are based on the erroneous conception that there is absolutely no difference between worldly activities and a work of poetry. That is why in the first argument the *sahṛdaya* has been supposed to be as distressed and disturbed by the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa*, *bhayānaka*, etc.—as a worldly man in ordinary life is supposed to be frightened or woe-begone. But in fact the worldly emotions of love and grief etc., always differ from their counterparts in poetry. The worldly emotions are confined to a particular space, time and individual, while those in poetry do not suffer from any such limitations.

Similarly in the second argument on the strength of this very concept the events of ordinary life have been thought to be similar to those described in poetry. But this is inadmissible, because both are different for many reasons. One striking difference between the two is that unlike the events of the world, in poetry reality alone is not depicted, it is necessarily mixed with the element of imagination. Therefore, to say that the pleasure and pain of the *sahṛdaya* are the same as those of the *anukārya* (one whose role is enacted) is basically wrong.

Now let us take the third argument. There is a marked difference between the grief of a mother, who in her real life is bereaved of her son and that of the *sahṛdaya*, who, witnessing the performance of such event on the stage or reading it in a *kāvya* becomes sad. In the former case, various situations are possible such as the softening of the sorrow by consolation, its total disappearance for some moments, or its intensification. But in the case of the *sahṛdaya* the question of such situations does not arise, as he is in no way related to the events other than depicted in poetry and drama. And if at all such

1. विस्मयन्ते हि शिरश्छेदकारिणाऽपि प्रहारकुशलेन वैरिणा शौण्डीरमानिनः । *Ibid.*, p. 291.

incidents occur before him, during these moments he is not a *sahṛdaya*, but is a worldly individual.

The fourth argument, no doubt, contains truth but only unilateral. The brilliance of the poetic composition and especially that of acting no doubt bewitches the *sahṛdaya*. This statement may be corroborated by a converse example as to how a most pathetic and heart-rending scene, because of the inefficient performance of an actor, produces ridicule instead of pathos. Thus the brilliance born of the actor's skill and poet's gift cannot be denied, but this brilliance only intensifies the already existing effect on the *sahṛdaya* and is not its generative cause. For instance, it intensifies the emotion of love of the *sahṛdaya* in the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, the emotion of grief in the *karuṇa rasa*, and so on. In addition, this brilliance born of skill produces a feeling of admiration and wonder in the spectator for the genius of the poet and the actor. But (as Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra have said) this feeling of admiration should not be held to account for the realisation of pleasure in the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka* etc. This feeling of admiration is on the worldly plane, so it can produce worldly pleasure and not the poetic delectability.

Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra were not the first to hold the view that *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka* etc.—are both pleasing and painful. Some definite statements to this effect are available even prior to them :

(a) येन त्वभ्यधायि सुखदुःखजननशक्तियुक्ता विषयसामग्री बाह्यैव सुखदुःखस्वभावो रसः ।[1]

(b) रसस्य सुखदुःखात्मकतया तदुभयलक्षणत्वेन उपपद्यते, अत एव तदुभयजनकत्वम् ।[2]

(c) रसा हि सुखदुःखरूपाः ।[3]

Though it is not clear from the statements whether the said *ācārya*-s held all the *rasa*-s as pleasing and painful, or some of them pleasing and others painful, yet the probability is that they would have, like Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra, accepted the *rasa*-s, *śṛṅgāra* and *hāsya* etc., as pleasing, and the *rasa*-s, *karuaṇa* and *bhayānaka* etc., as painful. Beside these statements, Vāmana has quoted in the name of certain *ācārya* a verse which clearly shows that he himself and probably some other *ācārya*-s too believed in the existence of pleasure and pain in the *karuṇa rasa* :

1. Some unknown *ācārya A.Bh.* Pt. 1, p. 278.
2. *Rasa-kalikā*, Rudrabhaṭṭa Vide *N. of R.* p. 115.
3. Some has said that the (worldly) affairs, which produce pleasure and pain, are external, and (when they become the subject of poetry, they produce) the *rasa*-s which provide pleasure or pain. *Śṛ. Pra.* p. 369.

Experience tells that in the pathetic dramas the mixture of pain and pleasure is possible. In the same way there is the possibility of mixture of *ojas* and *prasāda guṇa*-s.[1]

But from this statement we get no clear indication whether pleasure precedes pain or vice versa. It appears, however, that in the *karuṇa rasa* they accepted precedence of pain over pleasure. In other words the *sahṛdaya*, though experiencing worldly pain, does ultimately enjoy the delectability of poetry. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was probably the first to explain this conception in the original way. His conclusion is that pleasure is experienced from all the *rasa*-s, though its degree varies from *rasa* to *rasa*. The main reason for this is that the predominance of the *sattva guṇa* is the principal factor of pleasure, and it does never so happen that in any *rasa* the *rajoguṇa* and the *tamoguṇa* are completely subdued, and the *sattva gnṇa* is made perfectly manifest, the former two are always present to some extent.[2] No doubt it is difficult to determine the measure in which they exist in a particular *rasa*, but they do exist. Therefore, in all the *rasa*-s the mixture of pleasure and pain is determined by the proportion in which the *guṇa*-s referred to above exist. Thus the following four alternative views are before us :

(a) All *rasa*-s are pleasing.
(b) All *rasa*-s are pleasing and painful.
(c) The *rasa*-s like *śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya* are pleasing, but the *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka* are painful.
(d) The *śṛṅgāra* etc. are pleasing, but *karuṇa* etc. are painful.

Of these views Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra very clearly accept the third alternative, yet from the hint they themselves have given in the following quotation, we are led to believe that they ultimately accepted the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa*, *bhayānaka* etc.—as pleasing.

Just as a beverage (prepared with the sweet, sour and bitter ingredients) becomes all the more delicious because of its pungent taste, similarly in the *rasa*-s, *karuṇa* etc. the mixture of pain makes the poetry all the more pleasant.[3]

In fact the analogy between the beverage and the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa* etc. is not appropriate, because there may be sequence in the admixture of ingredients, sweet, sour,

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1. करुणप्रेक्षणीयेषु सम्प्लवः सुखदुःखयोः ।
यथाऽनुभवतः सिद्धस्तथैवौजःप्रसादयोः ॥ *K. L. S. Vr.* 3.1.9 (*Vr*).

2. सत्त्वगुणस्य सुखरूपत्वात् सर्वेषां भावानां सुखमयत्वेऽपि रजस्तमोंशमिश्रणात् तारतम्यमवगन्तव्यम् । अतो न सर्वेषु रसेषु तुल्यसुखाऽनुभवः ।
N. of Rasas, p. 156.

3. पानकमाधुर्यमिव च तीक्ष्णास्वादेन दुःखास्वादेन सुतरां सुखानि स्वदन्ते इव इति ।
N. D, p, 261.

bitter etc. in the preparation of the beverage, but there is no such sequence in its taste. But in the poetry or drama dealing with *karuṇa rasa* there does exist a sequence between the grief (worldly pain) and the poetic pleasure. The gap of time, however, is so short that it is not possible to assert with certainty any time-lag between the pain and pleasure. Whatever be the case, this quotation of Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra is sufficient to make us believe that they accepted the fourth and not the third view that the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa bhayānaka* etc.—are pleasing and painful, i. e. at first painful and then pleasing immediately afterwards. If that be their view, it can certainly be explained. But if they hold these *rasa*-s to be absolutely painful, it would not only be opposed to the principles of rhetorics (and psychology too) but will be contrary to practice and thus wholly inacceptable. A single argument presented by Viśvanātha that the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa*, etc.—are pleasing because the *sahṛdaya*-s long and look forward to witness such dramas is enough to annihilate the view-point of Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra.[1]

No keen reader will be prepared to admit after the perusal of their entire text that the philosophers and thinkers of the calibre of Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra held that the *rasa*-s like *karuṇa* etc. are purely painful. They may have accepted these to be so, though only in the initial stage, but ultimately they would have accepted these as pleasing. This view can be explained in several ways and from several points of view :

1. All the *sthāyibhāva*-s like *rati*, *śoka*, in all the *rasa*-s like *śṛṅgāra*, *karuṇa* are experienced as mere worldly pleasure and pain until they are perfectly matured or made manifest in the form of *rasa* by the combination of *vibhāva* etc. For instance, in an erotic play if a spectator gets reminiscent of his own beloved or in a pathetic play if he is reminded of his dead son, his emotion of love and grief respectively will be an experience of worldly pleasure or pain only. That person even while sitting in the auditorium is for the moment, not a *sahṛdaya* but a worldly individual only. But the moment, in which that individual rises above the self, is the moment of aesthetic pleasure. The worldly pleasure born of love and worldly pain born of grief become the precursors of this ultimate state of *rasa*.

2. The worldly cause, effect and accessories are called *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *sañcaribhāva* respectively in poetry, because they now transcend from the worldly to the super-worldly plane.[2] As long as the emotions—grief, fear etc.—are related to worldly cause, effect etc. (even in the auditorium itself) they are no doubt painful, but when

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1. करुणादावपि रसे जायते यत्परं सुखम् ।
सचेतसामनुभवः प्रमाणं तत्र केवलम् ।
किं च तेषु यदा दुःखं न कोऽपि स्यात्तदुन्मुखः ।। *S. D.* 3.4,5.

2. *K. P.* 4.27,28.

associated with *vibhāva* etc., they convert into the *rasa*-s like *karuṇa, bhayānaka*, etc., which give always transcendental pleasure.

3. The Indian poetics has a powerful means in the doctrine of *sādhāraṇikaraṇa* to prove that the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka* etc.—are always pleasing at the time of their maturity. By virtue of it the *sahṛdaya* descends from the particular to the common emotional ground,[1] i. e. his grief or fear do not remain bound to a particular place and time.[2] He is free from all kinds of infatuations and privations.[3] Consequently the character in poetry or play loses his individuality and thus appears to be a common person. For exemple, Rāma and Sītā turn into ordinary man and woman,[4] and the automatic result of all this is that the *sahṛdaya* is freed from his individual feelings and relationships. Therefore, in such situations it cannot be accepted that the *sahṛdaya* experiences worldly pleasure in the case of *śṛṅgāra rasa* etc., and worldly pain in the case of *karuṇa rasa* etc. This situation gives us transcendental pleasure in both the cases.

Thus we can conclude that :

1. Every *sthāyibhāva* gives worldly pleasure or pain in its immature stage, but when mature, it turns into transcendental pleasure.

2. In the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa, bhayānaka*, etc.—the spectator, no doubt, experiences pain born of grief and fear etc. but that pain is worldly only, exactly in the same way as he enjoys the worldly pleasure of love and humour, etc. in the *rasa-s, śṛṅgāra, hāsya*, etc. But this sort of pain or pleasure precedes the state of rasa.

3. (a) This worldly pain or pleasure, however, is not at all indispensable, because it is not always necessary that every *sahṛdaya* experiences it. Some (though their number be small) may not do so.

(b) nor this worldly pain or pleasure is an accessory means to the acquisition of the ultimate transcendental pleasure.

(c) of course this pain or pleasure can prove an effective impetus to the experience of transcendental pleasure in the case of immensely sensitive hearts.

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१. 'असाधारणस्य साधारणकरणम्' इति साधारणीकरणम् ।

२. भयमेव परं देशकालाद्यनालिंगितम् ।

A. Bhā. p. 470.

३. काव्ये नाट्ये च निबिडनिजमोहसंकटतानिवारणकारिणा विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना ।

Ibid. pp. 464-465.

४. तत्र सीतादिशब्दाः परित्यक्तजनकतनयादिविशेषाः स्त्रीमात्रवाचिनः ।

D. R. 4.40 (*vr.*)

4. (a) It is true that in life the grief, love, etc., cause worldly pain and pleasure, but in poetry and drama both these types of emotions when combined with *vibhāva* etc. give the *sahṛdaya* transcendental pleasure.[1]

(b) Consequently, the *rasa*-s—*karuṇa*, *bhayānaka*, etc.—are not painful; they too are as pleasing as the *rasa*-s—*śṛṅgāra*, *hāsya*, etc.

1. लौकिकशोकहर्षादिकारणेभ्यो लौकिकहर्षादयो जायन्ते इति लोक एव प्रतिनियमः। काव्ये पुनः 'सर्वेभ्योऽपि विभावादिभ्यः सुखमेव जायते' इति।

चक्रवाक-मिथुन और कालिदास

अशोककुमार कालिया

जलचर पक्षियों में चक्रवाक-मिथुन का अत्यन्त विशिष्ट स्थान है। प्राकृतिक सुषमा के वर्णन के प्रसङ्ग में यत्र तत्र संस्कृत-साहित्य में चक्रवाक का वर्णन किया गया है। परस्पर प्रेम-सम्बन्ध से दृढ़तया ग्रथित होने के कारण सुदृढ़ प्रेमबन्धन के उदाहरण के रूप में प्रायः चक्रवाक और चक्रवाकी दोनों का स्मरण किया जाता है। आदि-कवि वाल्मीकि ने अत्यन्त सहज रूप में प्रकृति-वर्णन के अवसर पर चक्रवाक का स्मरण किया है। किष्किन्धाकाण्ड में शरद् ऋतु की शोभा का वर्णन करते हुए वाल्मीकि नदी-मुख की उपमा वधू-मुख से देते हैं। यथा—

सचक्रवाकानि सशैवलानि
काशैर्दुकूलैरिव संवृतानि।
सपत्नरेखाणि सरोचनानि
वधूमुखानीव नदीमुखानि ॥[1]

चक्रवाकों से, शैवाल से, तथा काश से युक्त नदियों के मुख, गोरोचन से, पत्नरेखा से तथा दुकूल से युक्त वधुओं के मुख के समान प्रतीत होते हैं। यहाँ पर चक्रवाक की उपमा वधू के मुख पर विद्यमान गोरोचन के तिलक से दी गयी है।

इसी सन्दर्भ में वाल्मीकि ने निर्मल जल वाले कुरर पक्षियों से अभिनादित तथा चक्रवाक पक्षियों से व्याप्त जलाशयों का वर्णन किया है—

प्रसन्नसलिलाः सौम्य कुरराभिविनादिताः।
चक्रवाकगणाकीर्णा विभान्ति सलिलाशयाः ॥[2]

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१. रामा० कि० ३०-५५

२. वही० ५९

सुन्दरकाण्ड में रावण के भवन में सोई हुई अन्तःपुर की सुन्दरियों का बहुत ही सुन्दर चित्रण आदि-कवि ने किया है। उन स्त्रियों के स्तनों पर पड़े हुए वैदूर्य के हार कादम्ब पक्षियों के समान, तथा स्वर्ण-हार चक्रवाक पक्षियों के समान प्रतीत हो रहे थे। वाल्मीकि के शब्दों में—

अपरासां च वैदूर्याः कादम्बा इव पक्षिणः।
हेमसूत्राणि चाऽन्यासां चक्रवाका इवाभवन् ॥
हंसकारण्डवोपेताश्चक्रवाकोपशोभिताः।
आपगा इव ता रेजुर्जघनैः पुलिनैरिव ॥[1]

इस प्रकार के चक्रवाक पक्षी के सामान्य वर्णन के साथ ही चक्रवाकी से अन्वित चक्रवाक का भी वाल्मीकि ने उल्लेख किया है। किष्किन्धाकाण्ड में ही राम वर्षा ऋतु का वर्णन करते हुए कहते हैं—

सम्प्रस्थिता मानसवासलुब्धा
प्रियान्विताः सम्प्रति चक्रवाकाः।
अभीक्ष्णवर्षोदकविक्षतेषु
यानानि मार्गेषु न सम्पतन्ति ॥[2]

इसी प्रकार शरद् ऋतु के वर्णन के प्रसङ्ग में वाल्मीकि ने राम के मुख से सहचरी से युक्त चक्रवाक का उल्लेख कराया है—

निःस्वनं चक्रवाकानां निशम्य सहचारिणाम्।
पुण्डरीकविशालाक्षी कथमेषा भविष्यति ॥[3]

अर्थात् सह विचरण करने वाले चक्रवाक-दम्पती के शब्दों को सुनकर कमल के समान विशाल नेत्रों वाली सीता कैसा अनुभव करती होगी। इसी प्रसङ्ग में वाल्मीकि ने चक्रवाक-दम्पती के परस्पर अभिन्न सम्बन्ध की ओर इन शब्दों में सङ्केत किया है—

चक्रवाकीव भर्तारं पृष्ठतोऽनुगता वनम्।
विषमं दण्डकारण्यमुद्यानमिव चाङ्गनाः ॥[4]

रात्रि-वियोग

जो दम्पती क्षण भर के लिए भी वियुक्त रहने में समर्थ न हों, यदि उन्हें रात्रि भर एक दूसरे से वियुक्त रहना पड़े, तो सहृदयों के लिए इससे अधिक हृदय-विदारक और क्या हो सकता है। दिन तो जीवन

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१. वही, सुन्दर० ९.४९, ५०
२. वही, कि० २८.१६
३. वही, ३०.१०
४. वही, ६५

के सङ्घर्षों में, जीवन-यात्रा के आयास-प्रयासों में, विविध चिन्ताओं और अशान्तियों में बीतता है। स्वरूपतः प्रकाशमय होता हुआ भी वह स्वभावतः अन्धकारमय ही है। रात्रि दिन के सभी कष्टों से मुक्ति प्रदान करती है। प्रिया का समागम-सुख इसी में प्राप्त होता है। सारे कष्टों का विस्मरण कराने वाली निद्रा का आनन्द इसी में मिलता है। अन्धकार-स्वरूपिणी होते हुए भी वह ज्योतिपुञ्ज है। इस प्रकार की रात्रि में प्रेयसी का वियोग कैसी निष्ठुर-कल्पना है। सम्भवतः यही कारण है कि संस्कृत-कवि इस कल्पना की ओर अधिक आकृष्ट हुए। संस्कृत-कवियों के लिए चक्रवाक-दम्पती का रात्रि-वियोग एक मानी हुई बात है। अपनी रचनाओं में इन कवियों ने रात्रि-वियोग की कल्पना का भरपूर प्रयोग किया है।

भास-विरचित 'स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्' में उदयन को यह विश्वास है कि वासवदत्ता जलकर मर चुकी है। विरह-सन्तप्त उदयन को प्रियाप्राप्ति की कोई आशा नहीं रही। अतः उसकी स्थिति जितनी कष्टप्रद है उतनी किसी की नहीं हो सकती, चक्रवाकों की भी नहीं, क्योंकि उनका वियोग तो रात में ही होता है, सुबह होते ही दोनों फिर मिल जाते हैं—

नैवेदानीं तादृशाश्चक्रवाका
नैवाऽप्यन्ये स्त्रीविशेषैर्वियुक्ताः।
धन्या सा स्त्री यां तथा वेत्ति भर्ता
भर्तृस्नेहात् सा हि दग्धाप्यदग्धा ॥[1]

दूसरी ओर वासवदत्ता भी अपनी दशा की तुलना चक्रवाकवधू के साथ करती है। यथा—

'धन्या खलु चक्रवाकवधूः याऽन्योन्यविरहिता न जीवति'।[2]

इसी प्रकार बारहवीं शताब्दी में स्थित जयदेव की 'प्रसन्नराघव' नामक नाट्यकृति द्रष्टव्य है। छठे अंक में राम की विक्षिप्तावस्था का दृश्य सम्भवतः चक्रवाक-दम्पती के रात्रि-वियोग के उल्लेख के कारण अधिक प्रभावोत्पादक हो गया है। 'प्रसन्नराघव' का उक्त सन्दर्भ यहाँ द्रष्टव्य है—

राम : —(विलोक्य) अये, कोऽयं विहङ्गः—

योऽयं बहिः कलितकुङ्कुमरेणुरागम्
अन्तस्तु सम्भृतदयं हृदयं दधानः।
पारेतरङ्गिणि मुहुः करुणं रुदन्ती-
मालोकते सहचरीं न तु सन्निधत्ते ॥

(विमृश्य) नूनमयं वल्लभाहृदयविदारितहृदयो वराकश्चक्रवाकः।

लक्ष्मण : —अहो प्रमादः।

राम : —नूनमयमेकः समदुःखतया समानशीलो मे। अथवा

कुतोऽस्य मम च समानशीलता—

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१. स्वप्न, १.१३

२. वही०, २ अङ्क

अयमुदयति चन्द्रे विप्रयोगं प्रियायाः
श्रयति तपति सूर्ये साङ्गमङ्गीकरोति।
मम तु जनकपुत्रीविप्रयुक्तस्य यातं
शतमधिकमपीदं चन्द्रसूर्योदयानाम् ॥[1]

इस प्रकार की कल्पनाओं तथा उद्भावनों से संस्कृत-साहित्य ओत-प्रोत है।

रात्रि-वियोग-कल्पना का उद्गम

चक्रवाक-दम्पती के बहुप्रयुक्त रात्रि-वियोग की प्राचीनता भी विचारणीय है। जनश्रुति है कि सहचरी के साथ विचरण करने वाले चक्रवाक ने सीता से वियुक्त होने के कारण विरह-दुःख के सागर में डूबे हुए, वन में इधर-उधर भटकते हुए, विलाप करते हुए राम का उपहास किया था। इस कारण क्रुद्ध राम ने उसे शाप दिया था कि वह भी शीघ्र ही प्रिया-वियोग के दुःख का अनुभव करेगा। तब से चक्रवाक अपनी प्रिया चक्रवाकी के अत्यन्त निकट होने पर भी विप्रयुक्त रहता है।

अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि इसमें क्या प्रमाण है कि चक्रवाक-दम्पती के रात्रि-वियोग में कारण राम का शाप है। आदि-काव्य रामायण में उक्त शाप-वृत्तान्त के न होने से यह जिज्ञासा और भी सार्थक हो जाती है। सुबन्धु ने अपनी 'वासवदत्ता' में तथा बाणभट्ट ने 'कादम्बरी' में राम-शाप का स्पष्ट उल्लेख किया है। द्रष्टव्य है सुबन्धु द्वारा किया गया उल्लेख—

'कालपाशेनेव मूर्तरामशापेनाकृष्यमाणं चक्रवाकमिथुनं विजघटे। रविविरहविधुरायाः कमलिन्या हृदयमिव द्विधा पपाट चक्रवाक-मिथुनम्'।[2]

अर्थात् कालरूपी यम के पाश के समान मूर्त राम-शाप के द्वारा बलात् आकृष्ट किया जाता हुआ चक्रवाक पक्षियों का जोड़ा वियुक्त हो गया। मूर्त रामशाप का प्रयोग बाणभट्ट ने अपनी रचनाओं में अत्यन्त सौष्ठव के साथ किया है। पम्पासरोवर में नील कमलों के मध्य चक्रवाकमिथुन विचरण कर रहे हैं। नीलकमलों की प्रभा से नीले पंखों वाले चक्रवाक-मिथुन राम के मूर्तिमान् शाप के समान प्रतीत हो रहे हैं—

'यत्र च विकचकुवलयप्रभाश्यामायमानपक्षपुटान्यद्यापि मूर्तिमद्रामशापग्रस्तानीव मध्यचारिणामालोक्यन्ते चक्रवाकनाम्नां पक्षिणां मिथुनानि'।[3]

जिस राम-शाप का काव्यात्मक उल्लेख सुबन्धु और बाणभट्ट ने किया है उसकी परम्परा इन कवियों को कहाँ से प्राप्त हुई, यह अत्यन्त रहस्य का विषय है। वस्तुतः इस शाप-वृत्तान्त का उल्लेख रामकथाश्रित काव्यों में होना चाहिए। राम-कथा के विषय में सबसे प्राचीन तथा प्रामाणिक ज्ञान का स्रोत वाल्मीकि-रामायण ही है। इस आदिकाव्य में राम-शाप-वृत्तान्त का सर्वथा अभाव है। इससे यह

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१. प्रसन्नराघवम्, ६.६, ७

२. वासवदत्ता, (कलकत्ता, १९३३) पृ० ८८

३. काद० कथामुख, (सं० वैद्य, पूना : १९५९), पृ० २३

अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि रामायण की रचना के बाद तथा सुबन्धु और बाणभट्ट के पूर्व, समय की इस अवधि में 'रामशाप' का वृत्तान्त अस्तित्व में आया। या यह भी हो सकता है कि सुबन्धु और बाणभट्ट प्रभृति साहित्यकारों को यह परम्परा वाल्मीकि के अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य स्रोत से प्राप्त हुई है, जिसका आज हमें कोई ज्ञान नहीं है।

संस्कृतेतर रामायणों में इस रामशाप की घटना का विविध प्रकार से वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। फादर कामिल बुल्के ने अपनी प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक 'रामकथा—उत्पत्ति और विकास' में रामकथा से सम्बद्ध प्रायः समग्र स्रोतों का अध्ययन किया है। मलय रामायण 'सेरी राम' (१४००–१५०० ई०) में उल्लिखित घटना का विवरण वह इन शब्दों में देते हैं—

'सेरीराम में दो पक्षियों की कथा मिलती है, जिसमें से एक राम का उपहास करता है और दूसरा राम का सहायक बन जाता है। प्रथम पक्षी की चार मादाएँ हैं, वह विरही राम को देखकर उनका यह कह कर उपहास करता है कि राम अपनी एक ही पत्नी की रक्षा नहीं कर पाये। इस पर राम उसे अन्धा बना देते हैं, जिससे चारों मादाएँ उसे छोड़कर चली जाती हैं। एक अन्य पक्षी राम को बताता है कि रावण ने सीता का अपहरण किया है। वर पाकर वह एक लम्बी ग्रीव मांग लेता है।'[१]

यही कथा बंगाली रामायण 'कृत्तिवास-रामायण' (१४००–१५०० ई०) में कुछ भिन्न रूप में प्राप्त होती है। इसका विवरण प्रस्तुत करते हुए फ़ादर बुल्के कहते हैं—

"राम ने चक्रवाक से पूछा कि जनकनन्दिनी को कौन ले गया है, किन्तु चक्रवाक ने परिस्थिति समझने के बाद राम का इस प्रकार उपहास किया—'दो मनुष्य होते हुए भी एक स्त्री की रक्षा नहीं कर पाये, मैं अकेला पक्षी हूं, फिर भी दो मादाओं को रख लेता हूं। तुम लोगों ने स्त्री को खो दिया और अब इधर उधर भटक कर उसके विषय में पूछते हो। क्षत्रिय समाज तुमको क्या समझेगा।' राम ने क्रोध में आकर उसको यह शाप दिया कि आज से वह रति-सुख से वञ्चित रहेगा। रात में आहार खोजते-खोजते उसे मादा से अलग रहना पड़ेगा।"[२]

उडिया रामायण 'बलरामदास रामायण' (१५००–१६०० ई०) में इस घटना का दूसरा रूप उपलब्ध होता है। फ़ादर बुल्के के शब्दों में—

'बलरामदास रामायण के अनुसार राम और लक्ष्मण ने पम्पा-सरोवर के निकट पहुंच कर चकवी के एक जोड़े को क्रीडा करते हुए देखा। राम ने पास जाकर उनसे पूछा कि सीता कहां है। चक्रवाक ने राम की निन्दा करते हुए कहा कि क्या तुम यह भी नहीं जानते कि इस समय बाधा डालना अनुचित है। इस पर राम ने यह अभिशाप दिया कि तुम दोनों का मिलन फिर कभी नहीं होगा, किन्तु जब वे राम को भगवान् जान कर उनकी आराधना करने लगे तब राम ने अपना शाप बदल कर कहा कि उनका मिलन केवल दिन में ही हो सकेगा।'[३]

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१. रामकथा, ४७४, पृष्ट ४२५

२. वही, पृष्ट ४२५-४२६

३. वही, पृष्ठ ४२६

इस प्रकार देखा जा सकता है कि न केवल संस्कृत-साहित्य में, अपितु संस्कृतेतर साहित्य में भी चक्रवाक-दम्पती का रात्रि-वियोग, तथा उस रात्रि-वियोग के पीछे राम-शाप का कारण होना बहुप्रयुक्त और बहुप्रचलित कल्पना है। विविध तथा परस्पर निरपेक्ष स्रोतों में रात्रि-वियोग के लिए राम-शाप का कारण के रूप में उल्लेख यह सिद्ध करता है कि यह कल्पना निर्मूल नहीं है। यह बात दूसरी है कि हमें उस मूल का ज्ञान नहीं है। उपर्युल्लिखित संस्कृतेतर रामायण अर्वाचीन होने के कारण स्वयं में प्रमाण नहीं हो सकतीं।

चक्रवाक-मिथुन और कालिदास

महाकवि कालिदास ने अपने काव्य में चक्रवाक-मिथुन के अनन्य प्रेम तथा रात्रि-वियोग के अभिशाप की मार्मिकता का अत्यन्त सुन्दर और समुचित सन्निवेश किया है। अनन्य प्रेम के प्रतीक के रूप में कालिदास ने इस चक्रवाक-दम्पती को प्रायः सहृदयों के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया है। उदाहरणार्थ 'रघुवंश' का यह पद्य द्रष्टव्य है—

रथाङ्गनाम्नोरिव भावबन्धनं
बभूव यत्प्रेम परस्पराश्रयम्।
विभक्तमप्येकसुतेन तत्तयोः
परस्परस्योपरि पर्यचीयत॥[1]

'एक पुत्र रघु के द्वारा बाँटे जाने पर भी उन दोनों सुदक्षिणा और दिलीप का परस्पर प्रेम चक्रवाक और चक्रवाकी के एक दूसरे के प्रति अनन्य प्रेम के समान बढ़ता ही गया।'

'कुमारसम्भव' में कामदेव के प्रभाव से चक्रवाक-दम्पती की प्रेम-क्रीडा का वर्णन है, यथा—

अर्धोपभुक्तेन विसेन जायां
सम्भावयामास रथाङ्गनामा॥[2]

'अर्धभुक्त मृणालतन्तु से चक्रवाक ने चक्रवाकी की सम्भावना की, उसका सत्कार किया।' इस प्रकार के प्रगाढ़ प्रेम-सम्बन्ध में बंधे हुए दम्पती के बलात् वियुक्त हो जाने पर, एक दूसरे को उद्देश्य में रख कर करुण क्रन्दन करने पर कौन है जिसका हृदय पसीज न उठेगा। इस सम्बन्ध में 'कुमारसम्भव' का यह पद्य दर्शनीय है—

निनाय साऽत्यन्तहिमोत्कराऽनिलाः
सहस्यरात्रीरुदवासतत्पराः।
परस्पराक्रन्दिनि चक्रवाकयोः
पुरो वियुक्ते मिथुने कृपावती॥[3]

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१. रघु०, ३.२४
२. कुमार०, ३.३४
३. वही०, ५.२६

'कठोर तपस्या करने वाली पार्वती का हृदय सामने बिछुड़े हुए एक दूसरे को उद्देश्य में रख कर करुण क्रन्दन करने वाले चक्रवाक-मिथुन को देखकर करुणार्द्र हो गया।' जिस प्रकार चक्रवाक-मिथुन प्रगाढ़ प्रेम के लिए विख्यात है, उसी प्रकार इन्होंने अपने विश्लेष के लिए भी प्रभूत यश समुपार्जित किया है। मेघदूत में यक्ष अपने से वियुक्त प्रेयसी को सहचर से वियुक्त चक्रवाकी के समान समझता है—

'तां जानीथाः परिमितकथां जीवितं में द्वितीयं
दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम्।
गाढोत्कण्ठां गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बालां
जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वाऽन्यरूपाम्॥'[1]

'विक्रमोर्वशीयम्' में उर्वशी के लतारूप में परिणत हो जाने पर उसके विरह में विक्षिप्त राजा जड़ और चेतन सबसे उर्वशी का पता पूछता है। इसी क्रम में सामने प्रिया से संयुक्त चक्रवाक को देखता है—

'अयमिदानीं प्रियासहायश्चक्रवाकः। तावदेनं पृच्छामि'[2]

इस चक्रवाक से राजा उर्वशी का पता इन शब्दों में पूछता है—

'रथाङ्गनामन् वियुतो रथाङ्गश्रोणिबिम्बया।
अयं त्वां पृच्छति रथी मनोरथशतैर्वृतः॥'[3]

किन्तु चक्रवाक के शब्दों को सुनकर राजा को ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि चक्रवाक ने उन्हें पहचाना ही नहीं—

'कथं कः क इत्याह माम्। मा तावत्। न खलु विदितोऽहमस्य।'[4]

अत एव राजा उसे अपना परिचय देता है। किन्तु चक्रवाक के मौन रहने पर उसे इन शब्दों में उलाहना देता है—

'कथं तूष्णीं स्थितः। भवतु। उपालभे तावदेनम्।
सरसि नलिनीपत्रेणाऽपि त्वमावृतविग्रहां
ननु सहचरीं दूरे मत्वा विरौषि समुत्सुकः।
इति भवतो जायास्नेहात् पृथक्स्थितिभीरुता
मयि च विधुरे भावः कान्ताप्रवृत्तिपराङ्मुखः॥'

'स्वयं तो नलिनी-पत्र से छिप जाने पर भी सहचरी को दूर समझ कर करुण क्रन्दन करते हो और मुझ वियोगी के प्रति तुम्हारा इस प्रकार का उपेक्षा-भाव, यह ठीक नहीं है।'

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१. मेघ०, २.२४
२. विक्रम० (कालिदास ग्रन्थावली, सं० रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी), पृष्ठ ३९६
३. वही, ४.१८
४. वही, पृष्ठ ३९७

'शाकुन्तलम्' में सहचर से वियुक्त चक्रवाकी के बहाने शकुन्तला अपनी बात कहती है। यह स्थल अत्यन्त सुन्दर तथा मार्मिक बन पड़ा है—

'शकुन्तला—(जनान्तिकम्) हला, पश्य। नलिनीपत्रान्तरितमपि सहचरमपश्यन्ती आतुरा चक्रवाकी आरौति, दुष्करमहं करोमीति तर्कयामि।'[1]

'नलिनी पत्र से छिपे हुए सहचर को न देख सकने के कारण आतुर चक्रवाकी क्रन्दन कर रही है कि मैं दुष्कर कार्य कर रही हूं।'

वस्तुतः यह है शकुन्तला की अपनी स्थिति। दुष्यन्त के विरह में उसे जीवित रहना सम्भव नहीं प्रतीत होता है। जीवित रह कर वह दुष्कर कार्य कर रही है। यही भाव शकुन्तला ने चक्रवाकी के बहाने अभिव्यक्त किया है। अनसूया चक्रवाकी के ही माध्यम से शकुन्तला को आश्वस्त करती है कि जिस प्रकार यह चक्रवाकी प्रिय से वियुक्त होने पर भी विषाद के कारण अत्यन्त लम्बी रात को बिता देती है उसी प्रकार वह भी विरह के इन क्षणों को व्यतीत करे; क्योंकि आशा का बन्धन अत्यन्त निष्ठुर विरह के दुःख को सहन करा देता है। अनसूया के शब्दों में—

'अन०—सखि ! मैवं मन्त्रय।

एषापि प्रियेण विना गमयति रजनीं विषाददीर्घतराम्। गुर्वपि विरहदुःखमाशाबन्धः साहयति॥'[2]

कालिदास ने 'मालविकाग्निमित्रम्' में राजा, मालविका तथा धारिणी के लिए क्रमशः चक्रवाक, चक्रवाकी तथा रजनी इन तीन उपमानों का अत्यन्त सुन्दर प्रयोग किया है। यद्यपि मालविका राजा के निकट है तथापि वहाँ उपस्थित धारिणी के द्वारा दोनों का समागम अनुज्ञात नहीं है। राजा अपने को तथा मालविका को चक्रवाक और चक्रवाकी के समान पृथक्स्थिति-योग्य नहीं समझता है। इस समागम में बाधक धारिणी को वह रजनी के समान समझता है जो चक्रवाक और चक्रवाकी के समागम में विघ्न-स्वरूपिणी है। कालिदास का प्रयोग द्रष्टव्य है—

'राजा—(मालविकां विलोक्यात्मगतम्) कष्टः खलु सन्निधिवियोगः।
अहं रथाङ्गनामेव प्रिया सहचरीव मे।
अननुज्ञातसम्पर्का धारिणी रजनीव नौ॥'[3]

कालिदास ने इसी प्रकार का प्रयोग 'अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल' में भी किया है। 'शाकुन्तलम्' का उक्त स्थल नाटकीय सङ्केत का सुन्दरतम निदर्शन है। गान्धर्व-विवाह के अनन्तर दुष्यन्त तथा लज्जाशीला शकुन्तला परस्पर प्रणय-लीला में रत हैं। उसी ओर गौतमी आ रही है। अतः प्रियंवदा और अनसूया नेपथ्य से उन दोनों को अलग हो जाने के लिए सङ्केत करती हैं। दोनों सखियां नेपथ्य से चक्रवाक-वधू को सम्बोधित करती हुए कहती हैं—

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१. शाकु०, (कालिदास-ग्रन्थावली, सं० रेवा प्रसाद द्विवेदी) पृष्ठ ४९०
२. वही, ४.१६
३. माल०, ५.९

(नेपथ्ये)

चक्रवाकवधुके ! आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरम् । उपस्थिता रजनी ।[1]

'अयि चक्रवाकवधू ! अब अपने सहचर से विदा लो । रात आ गयी है । चक्रवाक और चक्रवाकी रात्रि के आगमन के साथ ही वियुक्त हो जाते हैं। वैसे सम्बोधित यहाँ चक्रवाकी को किया गया है, किन्तु वह सम्बोधन शकुन्तला के लिए ही उद्दिष्ट है । शकुन्तला ने उक्त वाक्य का अर्थ ठीक ही समझा, जो इन शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है—

'शकुन्तले ! आमन्त्रयस्व दुष्यन्तम् । उपस्थिता गौतमी ।'

यही कारण है कि वह दुष्यन्त को वृक्ष की ओट में छिप जाने को कहती है—

'शकुन्तला—(ससम्भ्रमम्) असंशयं नाम शरीरवृत्तान्तोपालम्भायार्या गौतमीत एवागच्छति । तद् विटपान्तरितो भव ।'[2]

इस प्रकार स्पष्ट है कि कालिदास नें अपने काव्य में कवि-परम्परा से प्राप्त चक्रवाक-मिथुन के रात्रिवियोग के अभिशाप का अपूर्व उपयोग किया है । कालिदास के उक्त स्थल उत्कृष्ट कविता तथा अनूठे नाट्यकौशल के सुन्दर निदर्शन हैं ।

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१. शाकु०, तृतीयाङ्क

२. वही ।

THE ROGUE AS A MORALIST

THE PLACE OF DAḌṆIN'S DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Erik P. Maten

1. INTRODUCTION

In volume III of his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*[1], Winternitz discusses classical Sanskrit literature, and within the genre of "Erzählungsliteratur"[2] (narrative literature) he treats the "Kunstromane" (novels or romances) as a distinct category. To this category, then, belong the *Daśakumāracarita* (*DKC*) of Daṇḍin, the *Kdaāmbarī* and *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu. *Kādambarī* and *Vāsavadattā* are styled as "Märchenromane" (a novel with the characteristics of a fairy-tale) and *Harṣacarita* as a historical novel. Classifying the *DKC* causes Winternitz some trouble. He refers to Meyer, who styles the work as a picaresque novel, and to Pischel, who styles it as a novel of manners ('Sittenroman"). In his own opinion, the *DKC* could equally as well be styled as a "Märchenroman"[3]. Obviously, these three scholars style the *DKC* after those aspects which strike them most. They do not ask themselves, however, whether those aspects are basic enough to justify such characterisations. Meyer seems to go by its contents, Pischel by its purport, and Winternitz by its outlook.

The aforementioned works have at least one aspect in common: they are in prose. They differ, however, in other respects. The *DKC* is a frame-story: the introductory story provides an opportunity of inserting other stories of more consequence, narrated by their respective main characters. The structure of the *Kādambarī* is determined by the *jātismara*-stories that are inserted in the main story and have a surprising effect on the

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1. M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1920.
2. For the sake of clearness, I will give both the terms in German used by Winternitz and their equivalents in English.
3. Winternitz, p. 354.

plot. This framing technique is exclusively Indian. The structure of the *Harṣacarita* is relatively simple: it consists of a number of incidents and episodes in chronological order. It deals, however, with the historical figure of king *Harṣa*, whereas the other works draw on the abundance of (oral) tales, of which Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* (*BK*) is the most famous collection, according to ancient Indian tradition. Presumably, Winternitz made his classification (which he has in common with other authors of Indian literary history) in accordance with the conceptions current in the literary criticism of his day. It is useful so far as it opens up an abundant wealth of literature, but it does not contribute to a thorough categorisation of those elements that constitute an ancient Indian literary work.

The ancient Indian literary theorists, like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Rudraṭa and Ānandavardhana, for instance, have also dealt with a classification of *kāvya*. They consider both form and content. This differentiated classification is descriptive and based on those works that were known to them. Since they did not all live in the same period and consequently could not be familiar with the same works, they hold different views. Daṇḍin, for instance, differs from other theorists when he states that within prose *kāvya* there exists no discrimination between *ākhyāyikā* (biography, based on facts) and *kathā* (novel, invented story)[1].

Judging from their works, the Indian theorists were concerned mainly with stylistics. It is to be regretted that their observations on form and content, though valuable, are finally lacking in the same way as the classification of Western scholars.

A survey of classical Sanskrit literature leads to the conclusion that all authors find their main source of inspiration in the epics and in the abundance of (oral) tales. The form in which this material is presented varies, though. Form plays an important part in the communication between author and reader, between narrator and audience. It is, therefore, surprising that as yet schorlars have hardly dealt with such an important aspect of ancient Indian literature[2]. The most fruitful and rewarding results, in my opinion, are to be expected from an analysis that is based on the study of a literary text as a whole. Only the interpretation of such an analysis against the background of the wealth of information available from Western and Indian scholarship will lead to as full an understanding as possible of ancient Indian literature.

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1. A convenient survey of arguments is given in : A. K. Warder, *Indian kāvya literature*, vol. I, Delhi, 1972, ch. VII.
2. An exception is L. Renou, who has studied the form of some Sanskrit texts : *Les divisions dans les textes sanskrits*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, I.1, 1957, pp. 1-33; *Sur la forme des quelques textes sanskrits*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1961, pp. 163-211; *Sur la structure du kāvya*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1959, pp. 1-113. Since the results of his research do not affect my arguments, I will not go into them here.

In this article[1] I propose to discuss some aspects of form. The choice of a specific form is a matter of presenting narrative material. I will try to answer the following questions. What is form? What is the nature of the relation between form and content? What has the author in view? How does he attain his objective? After a general consideration of some aspects of form, I will proceed to the role of the narrator, the way in which he shapes his material and the conditions to which he has to respond in order to make his narration successful. Within the compass of this article it is not feasible to bring the whole of narrative literature into my discussions. I will, therefore, draw mainly on the *Pañcatantra* (*P*) and the different versions of the *BK*. Finally, I want to discuss those features of the *DKC* that are, in my opinion, important for a better understanding of the place of Daṇḍin's work in Sanskrit literature. I do not pretend that my conclusions have a general validity, since my research is not yet in its final phase. My sole aim is to introduce, with the help of some significant examples, a new approach to a critical study of ancient Indian narrative literature.

2. PRELIMINARY

An adequate method of analysing narrative texts is provided by a recently developed branch of literary theory, "narratology". Narratology is mainly based on the ideas of French literary theorists like Greimas and Genette. It has been elaborated by Mieke Bal[2] into an autonomous theory. One conception is particularly useful in the scope of this study, namely the distinction within a narrative text of three layers[3]. Layer one is the *fabula*[4], a series of chronologically and causally related incidents. Layer two is the *narration*[5], the incidents of the fabula in a specific arrangement. Layer three is the *narrative text*, a text in which a story is told. This distinction enables the literary critic to describe as accurately as possible the successive stages of the creative process. Its relevance for the study of ancient Indian narrative literature can be demonstrated in the study of narrative material that is extant in different versions. The *BK* provides the example par excellence. The *BK*, the lost work of Guṇāḍhya, the existence of which is

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1. This article is partly based on a paper which I read at the Conference of the Oriental Society in the Netherlands, in Leiden, on September, 7th, 1979.
2. Mieke Bal, *Narratologie, Les instances du récit*, Paris, 1977.
3. Bal, pp. 3-58; such distinctions have been made before, for instance, the distinction between fable and sujet by the Russian formalists; see : R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of literature*, New York, 1956, pp. 217-218. The distinction proposed by Bal seems to me more useful, since it takes into consideration more aspects of the narrative text.
4. In French : "histoire".
5. In French : "récit".

attested by ancient Indian tradition, has been handed down in four versions: Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* (*BKŚS*), Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*KSS*), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (*BKM*), and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*[1]. The *BKŚS*, the so-called Nepalese version, differs considerably from the two Kashmir-versions, the *KSS* and the *BKM*, both in perspective. The *BKŚS* has an autobiographical nature: its hero, prince Naravāhanadatta, tells the story of his life. In his narrative, many stories are inserted, which are generally important for the progress of the main story. In the Kashmir-versions, the main story, that of Naravāhanadatta's adventures, has been condensed. The emphasis is on the inserted stories, which are not relevant for the progress of the main story, but which serve the moral. Thus, the Kashmir-versions have the fabula in common with the *BKŚS*, and it can thus be concluded that Budhasvāmin's intentions were not those of Kṣemendra and Somadeva[2]. The Kashmir-versions are quite similar in structure or perspective: they have not only the fabula, but also the narration in common. They show differences in presentation. Somadeva pays much attention to narrative details, whereas Kṣemendra sometimes tends to neglect those details, but delights in poetical description. A comparison of, for instance, the Vetāla-stories, which are included in both works, will make this point clear.

The consideration of the essential differences demonstrated above is likely to unsettle the discussion about form and content of the *BK*. Can the proposition be maintained that Budhasvāmin's work, the *BKŚS*, is older than the *KSS* and the *BKM* and thus nearer to the original as regards form and content? Can statements be made about structure, form, purport or qualities of Guṇāḍhya's work? That the *BK* must have been considerably adapted, is evident. Somadeva admits it in the introduction to the *KSS*[3]. It is also, albeit implicitly, in a few stanzas of the *BKŚS*. When Naravāhanadatta is requested by the hermits on mount Asita to relate how he came by the sovereignty of the vidyādharas and by his twenty-six wives, he feels highly embarrassed. His deeds have not always been above reproach. But the goddess Mahāgaurī comes to his help. No one in the audience will hear those things which are not appropriate for him to hear[4].

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1. Since I have not yet been able to study this text, I must refer to J. Jain, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi, An authentic version of the Bṛhatkathā*, Ahmedabad, 1977.
2. When we assume that neither the *BKŚS* nor the *KSS* and the *BKM* go back directly to the *BK*, this holds mutatis mutandis the authors of the models they were based on.
3. Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ed. by Paṇdit Jagadish Lal Shastri, Delhi, 1970, I.1 ff; C. H. Tawney and N. M. Penzer, *The ocean of story*, London, 1924-1928, I. p. 2. These verses are discussed by F. Lacôte, Essai sur *Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, thesis, Paris, 1908, pp. 123ff.
4. Budhasvāmin, *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, ed. and transl. by F. Lacôte and L. Renou, Paris, 1908-1928, (text) IV.1 ff., (transl.) ch. IV.

This passage hints at the possibility that the *BK* is adapted not only for its size, but also for moral reasons.

A comparison of the different versions of the *BK*, with the help of this particular narratological conception, demonstrates that basically identical narrative material can be presented in various ways. Structure of the narration and perspective appear to be important constituent elements of a narrative text. The example of the *BK* has been chosen to facilitate the comprehension of the method's applicability to any narrative text. Against this background the following discussion should be understood.

3. FORM

I must state that I start from the presupposition that the compositional principles employed in narrative literature originate from the oral tradition of story-telling[1]. The oral tradition is explicitly present in several narrative texts, and so the presupposition is based on textual data. When an author inserts a story, he creates a narrative situation in the story that is being told. He introduces a narrator and an audience. Secondly, the narrator who has been introduced into the story adds a moral to his own tale. The reactions of his audience are often mentioned (the significance of the perspective and its social implications will be discussed below). Thus the narrative situation outside the text is reproduced inside it.

Form is the expression of the manner in which the author presents the narrative material. The main aspect of form is language (prose, verse, stylistics). Moreover, form is affected by the structure of the narration. Closely related to form is the perspective.

3.1 STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

For a survey of some specific structural principles, both *P* and *KSS* provide useful information.

The *KSS* is a frame-story, into which stories are inserted for thematic reasons; their sense, not their motivation, is important for the progress of the main story. Two ways of narrating can be distinguished. Firstly, the main story deals with the adventures of prince Naravāhanadatta, who finally becomes *cakravartin* of the vidyādharas. It is narrated in an epic manner, for the hero, not the action is its centre. The main theme is man's possibility of going beyond the limitations of the human condition. Another less

1. In order to avoid a misunderstanding: I do not say that each author of a narrative text draws directly on the oral tradition. Just as the story-tellers, the authors of narrative texts have to meet certain conventions. I only want to point out those features which are liable to be reminiscent of the oral tradition.

ecstatic world is created in the inserted stories. It is the every-day world, viewed in a moral perspective. In contrast with the main story, the characters have to carry on with the only competence[1] they have: their commonsense, though fate may play a part, too. The action is central and the characters are delineated so far as is necessary for the development of the plot.

The *BK* in its Kashmir-versions has possibly suffered the same fate as the *Mahābhārata*[2]. Here, too, the adaptors have used the fabula as a means of imposing their audience. This is evident from the many occasions that the sense, the implicit moral, of a story is ignored or adapted to fit the moral context.

The *KSS*, *BKM* and *BKŚS* are in verse; the epic metre must have been chosen to underline the epic character of its narrative. In this case verse has no more than a stylistic function.

The narration of the *P* has also the structure of a frame-story; here, too, stories are inserted for thematic reasons. Both main story and inserted stories are in prose, interspersed with verses.

Oral tradition is clearly perceptible in the *P*. As is well-known, the use of metre simplifies the process of memorising and is therefore, widely resorted to. The occurrence of versified proverbs and narrative verses suggests the existence of a traditional technique of story-telling. The story-tellers have at their command these verses, which allow them to present their narrative material according to their own ideas or to the demands of the occasion[3].

In general, the scope of a narrative is limited to one single action of any length. A second, simultaneous action is couched in a separate narrative and inserted into the first narrative. The inserted narrative is related by one of its characters and often, though not necessarily, autobiographical. As a result of this procedure, there is a second narrator[4]. The introduction of one or more narrators does not result in a varying perspective. This type of story, which may have the nature of a report or a flashback, is

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1. I.e. virtue, quality; in this context I prefer the English equivalent of the French compétence. See : A. J. Greimas, *Les actants, les acteurs et les figures*, in: Cl. Chabrol, *Sémiotique narrative et textuelle*, Paris, 1973.
2. See : J. A. van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, vol. I, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London, 1973, pp. xlll-xxlll.
3. This technique plays a central part in the discussion on Oldenberg's *ākhyāna*-theory. For a survey of arguments, see: P. Horsch, *Die vedische gāthā-und śloka-Literatur*, Bern, 1966, pp. 307-356.
4. I use the term story-teller in a limited sense, namely the character which is introduced into a story in order to tell a tale.

frequently met with in the *BKŚS*[1]. In this context, the implications of the exclusive use of direct speech in Sanskrit and its consequences need no further consideration.

The practice of framing narratives of such a nature recalls the dramatic conception of unity of time, place and action. In this respect it is to be regretted that nothing is known about the oral rendering of stories. Of what nature was the relation, if any, between the oral rendering of stories and dramatic performance, or other forms of dramatic expression? Did the story-teller impersonate his characters? Was his story visualized ? Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered.

3.2 PERSPECTIVE

A prerequisite for the success of a story-teller is his rendering of incidents and characters that are identifiable for his audience. Though he may amuse them, tease their imagination, provoke their horror or compassion, the progress and end of his story must be in accordance with their expectation, must confirm their view of the world around them. Originality is not important. A well-known outcome does not impede the audience's sense of suspense or sympathy. For them it is edifying to see, again and again, the hero rewarded, the scoundrel punished, the lovers united. This is especially important in a society where the community is more emphasized than the individual, where the recognition and confirmation of social and moral values is a condition of life. The function of a story may be compared to the function of a narrative relief on a temple. Both serve their purpose only when they are not capable of more than one interpretation. Just as sculptors and painters, story-tellers have to meet "iconographic" requirements.

The social and moral value of a story is especially significant when the story-teller has an intention other than mere amusement. The effect of the moral is strengthened by the use of proverbs and maxims. The *KSS*, for instance, abounds in narrative situations from which the conditions delineated here can be taken.

An explicit moral, added by the narrator, does not belong to the inserted story proper. The *KSS* provides a good example to demonstrate this. King Suśarman has promised to guard the daughter of a certain brahman. One night, the girl disappears. The next morning, the brahman returns and asks for his daughter. Then the king, ... , said to his ministers: "This is no brāhman ; this is some god come to deceive me, for such things often happen in this world". The king then relates the story of king Śibi[2], well-known in its Buddhist version. The ethical sense of this story is clear from its

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1. See: E. P. Maten, *Budhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha, A literary study of an ancient Indian narrative*, thesis, Leiden, 1973, ch. II.
2. *KSS*, VIII.88-97; Tawney/Penzer, I, p. 84.

content, which is concerned with the self-sacrifice of king Śibi. The explicit moral derived by the narrator, king Suśarman, that a man should watch his steps, because he might be confronted with a god in disguise putting him to the test, belongs to the narrative situation and serves to underline a theme in the main story.

Perspective is determined by the sense, or implicit moral, and the explicit moral (i. e. the moral added to a story by the story-teller) in their relation to the common ideological background, the morality, of story-teller and audience.

The perspective of the *P* is determined by its verses. These verses are of two kinds: verses in which a proverb or a maxim is couched, and narrative verses, referring to a story. The verses are, so to speak, the backbone of the narrative. The successive episodes are preceded by a conclusion, which results from a dialogue, in which different points of view, couched in versified proverbs, are followed by a narrative verse; this introduces a story with a sense, which finally leads to a conclusion and another episode. This structure is a characteristic feature of the *P* and determines its form. The functional relation between form and contents is thus evident. The verses do not belong to the fabula or narration, but to the narrative text[1]. They determine the perspective, which is closely related with the form.

In the light of these observations, which have a rather general nature, those features of the *DKC* that seem to be important for its relation to other narrative works, will be discussed now.

4. DAṆḌIN'S DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA

The *DKC* is a frame-story. Its narrative material need not be discussed here, nor its language or stylistics, which have been sufficiently examined elsewhere. The hero of its introductory story, prince Rājavāhana, has become separated from his companions. At their reunion, the princes relate their adventures. Their stories correspond to the type of stories discussed above, which have the nature of a report or a flashback and which have to be framed in order to solve the problem of narrating simultaneous actions. The competence of the princes, the heroes of the stories, is their commonsense. They resort to their ingenuity to solve their problems and to save themselves from the situations they are entangled in.

The competence of commonsense ingenuity is positively valuated in ancient Indian narrative literature, even though it has negative implications. It has two sides: it may either be resorted to from sheer necessity, or intentionally.

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1. When the author of a narrative text draws directly on another narrative text, the verses are part of the fabula.

In the story of Upakośā[1], the heroine is confronted with problems against her will. When Upakośā's husband is away from home, she is successively approached by four men and forced to make an appointment for a rendezvous. At the crucial moment she tricks them into a box and exposes them in the king's court. There she is hailed as a virtuous woman; the four men are abused.

The positively valuated but harmful aspect of the use of ingenuity is illustrated by the story of Śiva and Mādhava[2]: the rogues. Śiva and Mādhava have set their minds on the wealth and the beautiful daughter of a king's chaplain. By working up his greed they succeed. The cheers are for the rogues, the chaplain is laughed at. The moral: everyone knows that the world is full of rogues, and that when they succeed in their intrigues, they do so because of the unawareness of their victims. This type of story may be styled as a rogue's story.

In the story of Śiva and Mādhava, the humiliation and harm of the selected victim has been consciously pursued. Such is also the case in Apahāravarman's story[3]. By means of a sham magic purse, Apahāravarman makes the courtesan Kāmamañjarī give away all her wealth and thus takes revenge for the harm she has done to two friends of his. The real victim is the wealthy merchant Arthapati, who had to be sacrificed for the prince's own safety. At the intercession of Apahāravarman, the merchant is not executed by the king, but banished from the town, in the possession of a loincloth only. The theme of the ingenuity, the use of commonsense as the main condition of life, common to the *P* and the versions of the *BK*, is found throughout the *DKC*. On this theme, Mitragupta inserts a story in his narrative.

As in other works, a narrative situation has been reproduced in the *DKC*. The audience consists mainly of the princes, who each in turn relate their adventures. There is, however, an important difference as regards the narrative situations as reproduced, for instance, in the *KSS*. In the *DKC* narrators and audience are of one mind. There is neither a need nor a necessity of explicit moralizing. The moral is implicit and well-understood. Prince Rājavāhana comments[4] tersely on the adventures of his friends; he never criticizes them, however cruel their deeds may have been. When Upahāravarman[5] has made an appointment with the queen to meet her in secret, he nevertheless, considers that the violation of another man's wife is heavy sin. He finds moral justification, how-

1. *KSS*, IV.28-70; Tawney/Penzer, I, pp. 32-36.
2. *Ibid.* XIV.82-199; Tawney/Penzer, II.175-183.
3. *The Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, ed. by K. P. Parab, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1889, *ucchv.* II.
4. It is a peculiarity of the *DKC* that the moral is made explicit by Rājavāhana as one of the auditors.
5. *DKC, ucchv.* III.

ever, in the sacred books; his plans are supported by one of the gods, who appears in his dream.

Since the attitude as reflected in the *DKC*, and also in other narrative works appears to have been common in ancient Indian society, real picaresque novel was beyond the possibilities. The rogue is indeed a moralist.

5. CONCLUSION

When the student of ancient Indian narrative literature is not fully alive as to which are the constituent elements of a text, when he does not interpret the various texts in their relation to one another, when he does not realize that the picture we have of ancient India is an ideal picture, his conclusions will inevitably be defective.

Some scholars praise the realism of the *DKC*, and some even interpret it as an expression of social criticism. According to Ruben's analysis, for instance, all merchants in Daṇḍin's work are wicked and mean[1]. How does this tally with the merchant Dhanamitra, in Apahāravarman's story, who has given away all his wealth and consequently has gained moral merit in the estimation of his fellow citizens? A cursory look at narrative literature shows us that there are many esteemed merchants. It is a necessity for a merchant to guard and augment his wealth; it is even his *dharma*, as is stated in the *BKŚS*[2]. A negative image of merchants is not uncommon in societies in which the use and circulation of money is not predominant. Kings, nobles, priests live on the yield of their lands, on taxes, or gifts, to which they have a moral or lawful right. A merchant without his captital is no merchant.

Social criticism assumes a well-founded alternative view, no indication of which can be found in the texts. Social emotion is limited to incidental and individual compassion. The realism of the *DKC* and other narrative works consists of the possibility of identification of characters and situations in the light of common morality.

The requirements to be met with by the story-teller have been discussed above. The introduction of certain characters in a story must be interpreted in the light of these requirements. The introduction of a hero, whose competence is ingenuity, demands the introduction of an opponent, a would-be victim. Meanness and wickedness are not exclusive to a certain group of characters, but are, like all other human qualities, dependent on the plot of a story. The would-be victim is not introduced by the story-teller by its being a member of a basically mean social group, but by its liability to have just that blind spot that decides the events to the advantage of the hero. The victim is scored off

1. W. Ruben, *Die Erlebnisse der zehn Prinzen, Eine Erzählung Daṇḍins*, Berlin, 1952, pp. 13ff.
2. Maten, pp. 91-92.

at the crucial moment only because he is off his guards. Did not the courtesan Kāmamañjarī[1], a rogue, so to speak, in her own right, successfully seduce the sage Mārīci by her ingenuity? Her competence did not prevent her from meeting her master in Apahāravarman. It is only a matter of course that a story-teller, in order to make his story successful, selects his characters from among those social groups that are most liable to meet the expectations, the opinions and prejudices of his audience. Therefore, Ruben's observation that the merchant Dhanamitra is a bad merchant is not sound. It originates from a basic misunderstanding of the art of story-telling, of which the ancient Indians were real adepts.

In this article I have discussed the main constituent elements of some narrative texts. After a general discussion of form, structure and perspective, I have tried to clarify the position of the *DKC* in its relation to other narrative works. If I have only succeeded in demonstrating the possibilies of a promising approach, I have gained my end.

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1. In Apahāravarman's story.

करुण रस की रसनीयता

(श्रीमती) प्रीति सिन्हा

रस आनन्दरूप है। रसों में करुण की गणना आदि काव्य रामायण की रचना के बाद से ही होती आ रही है। आदिकवि वाल्मीकि को ही करुणास्वाद का प्रवर्तक माना जा सकता है। महाकवि वाल्मीकि ने स्वयं कहा है—

निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः।[1]

आनन्दवर्धन ने भी इसी धारणा की पुष्टि की है कि क्रौञ्च-युगल के वियोग के दुःखद दृश्य से उत्पन्न महाकवि वाल्मीकि का शोक ही उनके काव्य का कारण बना।[2] इस प्रकार रामायण का काव्यार्थ करुण ही है। इसीलिये वह (करुण रस) आनन्दस्वरूप है।

संस्कृत साहित्य में करुण की रसरूपता अवथा आह्लादकता के सम्बन्ध में आचार्यों में पर्याप्त मतभेद दृष्टिगत होता है। बामन[3], रुद्रभट्[4] तथा भोज[5] ने रस को सुखदुःखात्मक माना है। इन उक्तियों से यह स्पष्ट नहीं होता है कि ये आचार्य सभी रसों को सुखात्मक तथा दुःखात्मक स्वीकार करते हैं अथवा कुछ को सुखात्मक और कुछ को दुःखात्मक, तथापि ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि ये शृङ्गार, हास्य आदि को

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१. रघुवंश, १४.७०

२. काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थः तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ ध्वन्यालोक, १.५

३. करुणप्रेक्षणीयेषु सम्प्लवः सुखदुःखयोः ।
यथानुभवतः सिद्धस्तथैवोजःप्रसादयोः ॥ काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति, १.१.८

४. करुणामयानामप्युपादेयत्वं सामाजिकानाम्, रसस्य सुखदुःखात्मकतया तदुभयलक्षणत्वेन उपपद्यते। अत एव तदुभयजनकत्वम्। द्रष्टव्य— *Number of Rasas* : Raghavan, पृ० १५५

५. रसा हि सुखदुःखावस्थारूपाः । शृङ्गारप्रकाश, ११, पृ० ४३७

सुखात्मक मानते होंगे तथा बीभत्स, करुण आदि को दुःखात्मक; क्योंकि यदि स्वभावतः बीभत्स और करुण को सुखात्मक नहीं माना जा सकता है तो शृङ्गार, वीर और हास्य जैसे रसों को दुःखात्मक कहना भी उचित न होगा । अतः कुछ रसों को शुद्ध रूप से सुखात्मक अवश्य मानना पड़ेगा । इस दृष्टि से बीभत्स और करुण को शुद्ध सुख रूप नहीं माना जा सकता है । इस प्रकार वागन के अनुसार करुण रस का आस्वाद मिश्रित होता है, जिसमें सुखात्मकता तथा दुःखात्मकता दोनों विद्यमान रहती हैं । मधुसूदन सरस्वती ने भी कुछ ऐसे ही विचार व्यक्त किये हैं । उनका अभिप्राय है कि सभी रसों में निस्सन्देह सुख का अनुभव होता है, परन्तु यह अनुभव सभी रसों में समान नहीं होता है । इसका एक मात्र कारण रसानुकूल सत्त्व, रजस् तथा तमस् का पारस्परिक सन्तुलन हैं । रस के स्वरूप के आधार पर उनमें सतोगुण, रजोगुण तथा तमोगुण का अंश भिन्न-भिन्न अनुपातों में विद्यमान रहता है । फलतः उभयात्मक होते हुए भी रसों में से कुछ सुखप्रधान तथा कुछ दुःखप्रधान होते हैं ।[१]

करुण रस को दुःखात्मक स्वीकार करने वालों में प्रमुख नाम रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र का है । उन्होंने सुखदुःखात्मक भेद से रस के दो भेद किये हैं । उनके अनुसार इष्टविभावादि के द्वारा प्रकाशित होने वाले शृङ्गार, हास्य, वीर, अद्भुत और शान्त रस सुखप्रधान हैं तथा करुण, बीभत्स, रौद्र और भयानक अनिष्ट विभावादि के द्वारा अभिव्यक्त होने के कारण दुःखात्मक हैं[२] । रस को अलौकिक मान लेने पर तो करुण आदि सभी रस आनन्दरूप ही सिद्ध होते हैं, किन्तु नाट्यदर्पण के रचयिताओं को इस मत पर आपत्ति है । उनके अनुसार रस को केवल सुखात्मक मानना प्रतीति-विरुद्ध है ।[३] अपने मत की प्रस्थापना में उन्होंने निम्नलिखित तर्क प्रस्तुत किये हैं ।

करुण रस का स्थायी भाव शोक है । अतः उसके सुखात्मक होने की तो कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती है । भयानक, रौद्र, बीभत्स और करुण रसों से सामाजिकों में उद्वेग उत्पन्न होते देखा जाता हैं । इसलिये ये रस सहृदय को सुखानुभूति कराकर अनिर्वचनीय क्लेश दशा को प्राप्त करा देते हैं । यदि ये सभी रस सुखात्मक ही होते तो उनमें सामाजिकों की उद्विग्नता का कारण ही नहीं होता ।[४] इसके अतिरिक्त काव्य और नाटक में लौकिक आचार-व्यवहार का चित्रण यथार्थ रूप में ही किया जाता है[५] । राम सीता

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१. सत्त्वगुणस्य च सुखरूपत्वात्, सर्वेषां भावानां सुखरूपत्वेऽपि रजस्तमोंऽशमिश्रणात् तारतम्यमवगन्तव्यम् । अतो न सर्वेषु रसेषु तुल्यसुखानुभवः । द्रष्टव्य *Number of Rasas* : Raghavan, पृ० १५५

२. तत्रेष्टविभावादिप्रथितस्वरूपसम्पत्तयः शृङ्गारहास्यवीराद्भुतशान्ताः पञ्च सुखात्मानोऽपरे पुनरनिष्टविभावाद्युपनीतात्मानः करुणरौद्रबीभत्सभयानकाश्चत्वारो दुःखात्मानः ।
नाट्यदर्पण, पृ० १५९

३. यत् पुनः सर्वरसानां सुखात्मकत्वमुच्यते, तत् प्रतीतबाधितम् । वही

४. भयानको बीभत्सः करुणो रौद्रो वा रसास्वादवतामनाख्येयां कामपि क्लेशदशामुपनयति । अत एव भयानकादिभिरुद्विजते समाजः । न नाम सुखास्वादादुद्वेगो घटते । वही ।

५. कवयस्तु सुखदुःखात्मकसंसारानुरूप्येण रामादिचरितं निबध्नन्तः सुखात्मकरसानुविद्धमेव ग्रथ्नन्ति ।
वही ।

आदि अनुकार्यों की करुणा दशाएं निस्सन्देह दुःखात्मक होती हैं, अतः कवियों को भी उन दशाओं का वर्णन तद्रूप में ही प्रस्तुत करना अभीष्ट रहता है। इस स्थिति में उनके अनुकरण को सुखात्मक माना ही नहीं जा सकता है, अन्यथा अनुकरण वास्तविक न होगा।[1] करुण रस को दुःखात्मक सिद्ध करने में रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र ने सभी सम्भव विरोधी तर्कों का बलपूर्वक खण्डन किया है। रस को सुखात्मक मानने वाले यह कह सकते हैं कि जिस प्रकार लोक में बिरही तथा शोकाकुल जनों को कारुणिक प्रसङ्गों के वर्णन से सुख-सान्त्वना मिलती है, उसी प्रकार काव्य और नाटकगत करुण आदि रस से परिपूर्ण काव्य को पढ़ने अथवा नाटक को देखने से भी आनन्दानुभूति होती है, किन्तु नाट्यदर्पण के रचयिताओं को यह मत स्वीकार्य नहीं है। उनकी मान्यता है कि वस्तुतः ऐसे प्रसङ्गों में भी दुःखी जनों को जो सुखानुभूति होती है वह मूलतः दुःखरूप ही है। केवल उनकी संवेदनशीलता के कारण उन्हें इसमें सुखानुभूति होने लगती है। यदि यह मान लिया जाय कि दुःखी व्यक्ति दुःखपूर्ण वार्ताओं से आनन्दानुभूति करता है तो यह भी मानना पड़ेगा कि उसे सुखपूर्ण वार्ताओं से दुःख की अनुभूति होनी चाहिए। इस प्रकार शृङ्गार, हास्य आदि हर्षमूलक रसों से दुःखानुभूति होने लगेगी, किन्तु वास्तव में ऐसा होता नहीं है, क्योंकि शृङ्गार, हास्य इत्यादि रस सर्वथा सुखात्मक और आनन्दप्रद हैं। इस प्रकार रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र के अनुसार करुण आदि रस दुःखात्मक ही हैं।[2] सहृदयों को इन दुःखात्मक रसों से यदि परमानन्द प्राप्त भी होता है, तो वह करुण आदि रसों के सुखात्मक स्वरूप के कारण नहीं, अपितु कवि के मार्मिक चित्रण तथा नट के हृदयस्पर्शी अभिनय के चमत्कार के कारण ही प्राप्त होता है।[3]

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र ने अपने तर्कों को लौकिक व्यवहार तथा अनुभव के आधार पर प्रस्तुत किया है, जबकि लोक-जीवन तथा काव्य-जगत् में किसी भी दृष्टि से कोई साम्य नहीं है। लौकिक जीवन सुख-दुःखात्मक होता है, किन्तु कविकृति तो ह्लादैकमयी होती है। लौकिक भाव एक ही देश, काल तथा व्यक्ति तक सीमित रहता है, किन्तु काव्यगत भाव देश, काल तथा व्यक्ति की सीमा से परे साधारणीकृत भाव होते हैं। लौकिक जीवन का अनुभवकर्ता एक साधारण मनुष्य होता है, किन्तु काव्य का पाठक अथवा नाटक का दर्शक सहृदय सामाजिक होता है। इस प्रकार काव्य-जगत् के सभी उपादान अलौकिक होते हैं और इसी अलौकिकता के ही कारण काव्यात्मभूत रस तत्त्व भी अलौकिक आनन्दमय होता है। रस में किञ्चिन्मात्र भी दुःख का संस्पर्श

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१. तथानुकार्यगताश्च करुणादयः परिदेवितानि(नु) कार्यत्वात् तावद्दुःखात्मका एव। यदि चानुकरणे सुखात्मानः स्युः न सम्यगनुकरणं स्यात्, विपरीतत्वेन भासनादिति। वही।

२. योऽपीष्टादिविनाशदुःखवतां करुणे वर्ण्यमानेऽभिनीयमाने वा सुखास्वादः सोऽपि परमार्थतो दुःखास्वाद एव। दुःखी हि दुःखितवार्तया सुखमभिमन्यते, प्रमोदवार्तया तु ताम्यतीति करुणादयो दुःखात्मान एवेति। वही।

३. यत् पुनरेभिरपि चमत्कारो दृश्यते स रसास्वादविरामे सति यथावस्थितवस्तुप्रदर्शकेन कविनटशक्ति-कौशलेन। अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कविनटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धाः परमानन्दरूपतां दुःखात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधसः प्रतिजानते। वही।

नहीं होता है। आनन्दवर्द्धन तथा अभिनवगुप्त आदि अधिकांश परवर्ती आचार्यों द्वारा मान्य रस का यही सिद्धान्त मनोवैज्ञानिक तथा सर्वग्राह्य प्रतीत होता है।

यदि काव्यगत करुण रस लौकिक करुण की भांति दुःखात्मक ही होता तो रामायण जैसे करुण रस प्रधान महाकाव्यों की सर्जना नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। यदि हुई भी थी तो उसमें सहृदय की प्रवृत्ति न होती, किन्तु बात इसके नितान्त विपरीत है। सहृदय अन्य काव्यों की अपेक्षा करुण काव्यों के प्रति अत्यधिक प्रवृत्त होते हैं तथा दशरथ-मरण, राम-वन-गमन, सीताहरण आदि जैसे मार्मिक प्रसङ्गों को बार बार पढ़ना और सुनना चाहते हैं। इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि करुण-रस-प्रधान काव्य आनन्दानुभूति ही कराते हैं। अतः करुण रस आनन्दरूप होता है।

काव्यगत करुण आदि लौकिक करुण आदि से सर्वथा भिन्न होते हैं। ये रस दुःखात्मक होते हुए भी रसिकों को आनन्द की प्रतीति उसी प्रकार कराते हैं जिस प्रकार सुरत के समय स्त्रियों के कुट्टमित, नखक्षत, दन्तक्षतादि रसिकों को सुख-दुःख से मिश्रित आनन्द प्रदान कराते हैं।[1]

यहां यह कहा जा सकता है कि करुणात्मक काव्य को पढ़कर सहृदय जन में अश्रुपात होने लगता है। इससे उनके हृदय में दुःख का ही आविर्भाव प्रतीत होता हैं। अत एव करुण रस दुःखात्मक है; किन्तु रस की 'साधारणीकरण' प्रक्रिया के आधार पर यह कथन उचित नहीं प्रतीत होता है। रसानुभूतिकाल में सहृदय वैयक्तिक सीमा को पार करके साधारणीकरण की अवस्था में पहुंच जाता है। अनुकार्य के सुख-दुःख से सहृदय का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहता है, अपितु हृदय-संवाद तथा करुण रस में चित्त की अत्यधिक द्रवणशीलता के कारण उसमें अनायास अश्रुपात होने लगता है।[2] आनन्दातिरेक में भी इसी प्रकार की चित्तद्रुति होती है तथा अत्यधिक आनन्दित होने पर अश्रुपात होने लगता है। अत एव चित्तभूमि की इसी द्रवणशीलता के आधार पर यह सिद्ध होता है कि करुण–रस–विषयक अश्रु आनन्दरूप होते हैं। इस प्रकार करुण रस में भी परम सुख की प्राप्ति होती है। इस विषय में केवल सहृदयों का अनुभव ही प्रमाण है। रामायण आदि करुण-रस-प्रधान काव्यों में सहृदय की पौनःपुन्येन प्रवृत्ति करुण रस की आनन्दात्मकता को ही सिद्ध करती है।[3]

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१. तादृश एवासावानन्दः सुखदुःखात्मको यथा प्रहरणादिषु सम्भोगावस्थायां कुट्टमिते स्त्रीणाम्, अन्यश्च लौकिकात्करुणात्काव्यकरुणः, तथा ह्यत्रोत्तरा रसिकानां प्रवृत्तयः। यदि च लौकिककरुणवद्दुःखात्मकत्वमेवेह स्यात्तदा न कश्चिदत्र प्रवर्तेत, ततः करुणैकरसानां रामायणादिमहाप्रबन्धानामुच्छेद एव भवेत्। --- तस्माद्रसान्तरवत्करुणस्याप्यानन्दात्मकत्वमेव।

दशरूपक (अवलोक), ४.४४

२. अश्रुपातादयस्तद्वद्द्रुतत्वाच्चेतसो मताः। साहित्यदर्पण, ३.८

३. (क) करुणादावपि रसे जायते यत् परं सुखम्।
सचेतसामनुभवः प्रमाणं तत्र केवलम्॥

यहां यह शङ्का भी हो सकती है कि यदि करुण रस को सुखात्मक मान भी लिया जाय तो सीता-वनवासादि रूप दुःख-प्रसङ्गों से सुख की प्रतीति कैसे हो सकती है, क्योंकि कारण-कार्य समानधर्मी होते हैं। इसका समाधान यह है कि लोक तथा काव्य-जगत् में महान् अन्तर है। लोक में सीतावनवासादि को दुःख का कारण माना जाता है। इनसे लोक में भले ही दुःख उत्पन्न हो किन्तु जब यही काव्य में वर्णित हो जाते हैं तब ये लौकिक कारण न रहकर विभाव रूप में परिणत हो जाते हैं। अब वह दुःखात्मक लौकिक कारण नहीं रह जाते हैं, अपितु अलौकिक विभाव (साधारणीकृत रूप) हो जाते हैं और इन अलौकिक विभावों से सुख की ही प्रतीति सम्भव है।[1] अन्य प्रमाणों से होने वाले अनुभव की अपेक्षा काव्य रूप प्रमाण से होने वाले अनुभव में विलक्षण कमनीयता हुआ करती है। इस प्रकार शोकस्थायीभावात्मक करुण रस भी आनन्दस्वरूप ही है।[2]

यद्यपि नाट्यदर्पणकार रामचन्द्र गुणचन्द्र ने रस को सुखदुःखात्मक मानकर उसके दो भेद कर दिये हैं और करुण रस को दुःखात्मक रस की कोटि में रखा है, तथापि उन्होंने एक स्थान पर सङ्केत रूप में करुण रस की सुखात्मकता को भी स्वीकार किया है। उनका कथन है कि कविगण रामादि के चरित को सुखदुःखात्मक रूप में ही चित्रित करते हैं, तथापि इन स्थलों पर दुःखास्वाद से सुखानुभूति उसी प्रकार हुआ करती है, जिस प्रकार पने की तीक्ष्णता माधुर्य आदि आस्वाद के साथ मधुर ही प्रतीत होती है।[3] जो लोग करुण रस को आनन्दात्मक नहीं मानते हैं, वे या तो सहृदय की कोटि में ही नहीं आते हैं अथवा वे रस के उपादानों में अलौकिक व्यञ्जना व्यापार के स्थान पर एक अन्य साधारण व्यापार मान लेते हैं, जो सर्वथा अनुचित है। लोक के शोक से दुःख होना स्वाभाविक है, क्योंकि यह शोकादि भाव लौकिक स्तर पर होने के कारण

किञ्च तेषु यदा दुःखं न कोऽपि स्यात् तदुन्मुखः ।
तथा रामायणादीनां भविता दुःखहेतुता ॥ वही, ३.४५

(ख) अथ तत्र कवीनां कर्तुम्, सहृदयानां च श्रोतुम्, कथं प्रवृत्तिः ।
— — — इष्टस्याधिक्यादनिष्टस्य च न्यूनत्वाच्चन्दनद्रवलेपनादाविव प्रवृत्तेरुपपत्तेः ।
रसगङ्गाधर (चौखम्बा) १, पृ० १३८

१. हेतुत्वं हर्षशोकादेर्गतेभ्यो लोकसंश्रयात् ।
शोकहर्षादयो लोके जायन्तां नाम लौकिकाः ॥
अलौकिकविभावत्वं प्राप्तेभ्यः काव्यसंश्रयात् ।
सुखं स जायते तेभ्यः सर्वेभ्योऽपीति का क्षतिः । साहित्यदर्पण, ३.६७

२. विलक्षणो हि कमनीयः काव्यव्यापारज आस्वादः प्रमाणान्तरजादनुभवात् । अयं हि लोकोत्तरस्य काव्य-व्यापारस्य महिमा, यत्प्रयोज्या अरमणीया अपि शोकादयः पदार्था आह्लादमलौकिकं जनयन्ति ।
रसगङ्गाधर (चौखम्बा) १, पृ० १३९

३. कवयस्तु सुखदुःखात्मकसंसारानुरूप्येण रामादिचरितं निबध्नन्तः सुखदुःखात्मकरसानुविद्धमेव ग्रथ्नन्ति । पानकमाधुर्यमिव च तीक्ष्णास्वादेन दुःखास्वादेन सुतरां सुखानि स्वदन्ते इति । नाट्यदर्पण, पृ० १५९

रस उपाधि को नहीं धारण करते हैं। नाट्यशास्त्र की टीका में अभिनवगुप्त ने लोकस्वभाव को सुख-दुःख-समन्वित ही माना है। उन्होंने शोक, क्रोध, भय और जुगुप्सा में यद्यपि शोक को सबसे अधिक दुःखात्मक स्वीकार किया है,[1] तथापि उन्होंने करुण रस को सर्वथा सुखमय तथा आह्लादस्वरूप माना है।[2]

शारदातनय को भी करुण आदि रसों में आनन्दानुभूति अभीष्ट है। उनके अनुसार यद्यपि यह संसार दुःख आदि से कलुषित है, तथापि मनुष्य राग, विद्या और कला संज्ञक तीन तत्त्वों के द्वारा उसमें भोग की ही प्रतीति करता है। इस प्रसङ्ग में उन्होंने राग, विद्या और कला इन तीनों तत्त्वों का परिचय भी दे दिया है। उनके अनुसार सुखत्वाभिमान ही राग है। राग के उपादान तत्त्व को विद्या कहा जाता है। इसी के द्वारा विद्वान् पुरुष के ज्ञान की अभिव्यञ्जना होती है तथा आत्मा को प्रदीप्त करने वाला हेतु कला कहा जाता है। इस प्रकार परम्परा से प्राप्त विषय रूप में परिणत भावों के द्वारा मनुष्य बुद्धि इत्यादि से रस रूप में भोगों का उपभोग करते हैं।[3] शारदातनय के अनुसार आत्मा नित्य आनन्दस्वरूप है। इसीलिये वह संसार के दुःख आदि माया-जन्य आच्छादनों को हटाकर उन्हें योग्य बना देती है।

इस प्रकार रस स्थायीभाव से विलक्षण होता है।[4] स्थायीभाव लोकानुगामी होने के कारण सुख-दुःखात्मक दोनों रूपों में हो सकता है, किन्तु ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदर रस शुद्ध चैतन्यानन्दस्वरूप होता है।

अत एव यह स्पष्ट रस कि करुण रसनीय होने के कारण सभी लौकिक सीमाओं से परे है। वह अलौकिक तथा चिदानन्दरूप है।

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१. द्वैकालिकस्त्वाभीष्टविषयनाशजः प्राक्तनसुखस्मरणानुविद्धः सर्वमेव दुःखरूपः शोकः ।
नाट्यशास्त्र (अभिनवभारती) भाग १, पृ० ५३

२. एवं चर्वणोचितशोकस्थायीभावात्मककरुणरससमुच्चलनस्वभावात् स एव काव्यस्यात्मा सारभूतस्वभावो परशाब्दवैलक्षण्यकारकः । ध्वन्यालोक (लोचन), १.५

३. रागविद्याकलासंज्ञैः पुंसस्तत्त्वैस्त्रिभिः स्वतः ।
प्रवृत्तिगोचरोत्पन्ना बुद्ध्यादिकरणैरसौ ॥
भोगं निष्पाद्य निष्पाद्य वासनात्मैव तिष्ठति ।
दुःखमोहादिकलुषमपि भोग्यं प्रतीयते ॥
यत्सुखत्वाभिमानेन स राग इति कथ्यते ।
विद्या नामेति तत्त्वं यद्रागोपादानमुच्यते ॥
तयाऽभिव्यज्यते ज्ञानं पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।
चैतन्यस्य मलेनैव संरुद्धस्य स्वभावतः ॥
अभिज्वलनहेतुर्या सा कलेत्यभिधीयते ।
सुखदुःखात्मिका बुद्धेर्वृत्तिगोचर उच्यते ॥
एवं परम्पराप्राप्तैर्भावैर्विषयतां गतैः ।
बुद्ध्यादिकरणैर्भोगाननुभुङ्क्ते रसात्मना ॥ भावप्रकाशन, पृ० ५३

४. स्थायिविलक्षण एव रसः। नाट्यशास्त्र (अभिनवभारती) भाग, १ पृ० २८४

SECTION V

Religion and Philosophy

DIE VORSTELLUNG DER DÄMONEN IM INDISCHEN GLAUBEN

Gaya Charan Tripathi

0.1. In dieser unserer Welt, wo Gutes und Böses, Wohl und Übel nebeneinander existieren und womit wir uns einfach abfinden müssen, ohne es beeinflußen zu können, ist das Aufkommen des Glaubens an die böswilligen, übermenschlichen und übernatürlichen Kräfte ebenso natürlich und naheliegend wie der Glaube an die wohlwollenden Kräfte, die unser Streben nach einem besseren Dasein im Diesseits und Jenseits unterstützen. Es könnte sogar die These aufgestellt werden, daß Götter und Dämonen unabhängig voneinander gar nicht existieren können—vor allem bedürften die Götter die Dämonen für ihre Existenz. Zumindest trifft das im indischen Bereich völlig zu. Fast jeder Hindu-Gott wird mit irgendeiner Waffe in Hand dargestellt, was offensischtlich bedeutet, daß er Böses vertreibt sowie die Dämonen vernichtet.

1. DIE DÄMONEN IN DER VEDISCHEN ZEIT

1.0.1. Bevor wir zur Schilderung der Dämonen in den Epen und Purāṇas vorschreiten, möchten wir uns einen Überblick über die Vorstellung der Dämonen in der vedischen Zeit (ca. 1500 v. Chr.—500 V. Chr.) verschaffen, da die späteren, d. h. die eigentlich hinduistischen Vorstellungen erst dann in ihrer historischen Entwicklung voll verstanden werden können.

1.0.2. Verallgemeinernd kann man sagen, daß es im Veda *drei* klassen von Dämonen gibt, nämlich : 1. die kosmischen Dämonen, gegen die die mächtigsten Götter des vedischen Pantheons, vor allem Indra, kämpfen und deren Vernichtung für das Wohl der Welt, für die Erhaltung der Ordnung im Kosmos einfach notwendig ist; diese Klasse wird *Asura*-s genannt; 2. die *Dasyu*-s oder die *Dāsa*-s, welche meistens die menschlichen Feinde der Arier aus dem Bereich der autochthonen Stämme oder Ureinwohner Indiens sind und im

Laufe der Zeit zur Stufe der Dämonen herabgesunken (hinaufgestiegen ?) sind; 3. die *Rakṣāṃsi/Rākṣasa*-s (sing. *rakṣa*-s), welche verschiedene menschenfeindlichen Dämonen der Erde (z. B. Krankheitsdämonen) darstellen, die die Menschen individuall plagen und ihnen das Desein erschweren.

1.1. DIE ASURAS

1.1.1. Die Asuras sind zwar böswillige aber erhabene Mächte der Natur. *Asura* bedeutet normaleweise lebenskräftig, stark. Zwar bedeutet das Wort in der spätvedischen Literatur immer Dämon, im *Ṛgveda* selbst aber—vor allem in den alten Stellen—ist dieses Wort ein epitheton sowohl von den Göttern als auch von den Dämonen. Alle mächtigen Götter der vedischen Mythologie wie z. B. Dyaus, Indra, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Rudra, Marut und vor allem Varuṇa genießen dieses Adjektiv, das im iranischen Bereich in der Form *Ahura* von dem Namen der höchsten Gottes in der Religion von Zarathustra, von Ahura-Mazda, nicht getrennt werden kann.

1.1.2. Untersucht man nun genauer die Stellen im *Ṛgveda*, wo das Wort *Asura* vorkommt unter Heranziehung der Eigenschaften der betreffenden Götter, so kommt man man zum Schluß, daß dieses Wort so etwas wie "eine geheime oder magische Kraft besitzend" bedeuten muß : eine Eigenschaft also, die die Dämonen mit den Göttern teilen. Da aber für den Begriff 'Dämon' im kosmischen Bereich, d. h. für 'Feind der Götter' noch kein allgemeines Wort in *Ṛgveda* vorhanden ist, wandert dieses Epitheton immer mehr den Dämonen zu bis es spätestens in den Brāhmaṇas ausschließlich für die Dämonen gebraucht wird. Begünstigt wurde diese Entwicklung offensichtlich durch das *a* im Anlaut, das als *alpha privativum* verstanden wurde. Man deutete das Wort *asura* als 'nicht *sura*' und meinte, das Wort *sura* bedeute *Gott*, obwohl dieses so abstrahierte Wort in den ältern Texten überhaupt nicht belegt war. Bis zur Zeit der Upaniṣads macht sich das Wort *sura* selbständig und wird nun tatsächlich im Sinne von Gott gebraucht. Das zeigt uns deutlich wie das Wort *asura* in den den Upaniṣads vorangehenden Zeiten verstanden worden sein muß.

1.1.3. Die Asuras sind zwar im Grunde böse aber erhabene Wesen, die imstande sind den normalen Verlauf der Natur zu stören. Diese sind deshalb in den mythologischen Kämpfen die eigentlichen Gegner der *Deva*-s, nicht der *Menschen*. Vṛtra ist eine Riesenschlange; ein *ahi*, der die Wässer umgibt, sie innehält und deshalf von Indra getötet wird, damit die Wässer zum Wohle der menschen und Tiere frei werden. Zweimal (8.78.5, 8.10.55) ist im RV gesagt worden, daß Indra

eben zur Tötung Vṛtras entstanden sei. In den Rachen der Schlange Vṛtras, deren Zischen oft erwähnt wird und die Blitz, Nebel und Hagelsturm als ihre Waffen hat, schleudert Indra seinen Donnerkeil.

1.1.4. Der name der Mutter Vṛtras ist Dānu, das als ein neutrum und femininum "Wasserstrom" bedeutet. Als Sohn Dānus wird Vṛtra entweder *Dānuḥ* (maskulinum)oder *Dānava* genannt. In den Epen und Purāṇas finden wir später eine bestimmte Gruppe von Dämonen, die Dānava-s (Plural) heißen (vgl. 2.6. unten).

1.1.5. Vala ist ein anderer wichtiger Asura im RV, der die Kühe der Götter in einem Versteck hält. Die Kühe sind entweder in einer Burg, die von Indra durchbrochen wird oder in einer Höhle, die geöffnet wird, damit die Kühe herauslaufen. Das Wort bedeutet ursprünglich eine Umzäunung, Umhüllung, Bedeckung oder Höhle. Diese Höhle, aus der die Kühe herausgetrieben werden, scheint später personifiziert, vielmehr dämonisiert, worden zu sein, die selbst die Kühe gefangenhält und zwar zunächst in sich selbst, d. h. in der Höhle, später auch in den Burgen. Auch diesem Asura begegnen wir später in den Purāṇas. (Vgl. 2.1.6)

1.1.6. Viśvarūpa ist der dritte in diesem Zusammenhang wichtige Asura des *ṚV*. Er ist ein dreiköpfiger Dämon, der von Indra und Trita (der Dritte) gemeinsam getötet wird. Auch er hat die Kühe und Pferde der Götter geraubt. Sein Vater ist Tvaṣṭṛ, der einer der Schöpfergötter des Veda ist, weil er menschlichen Keim im Mutterleib verankern läßt, ihn entwickelt und ihm die Form verleiht. Die Tochter von Tvaṣṭṛ, die Śaraṇyū, ist die Frau von Vivasvant, dem Sonnengott und ist die Mutter von dem ersten menschlichen Zwillingspaar—Yama und Yamī. Man sieht, die Grenze zwischen Dämon, Gott und Mensch ist hier völlig fließend ! In der spätern *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* kommt der ṛgvedische Dämon Viśvarūpa als ein Priester der Götter vor und das *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* erzählt, daß er als Priester der Götter im Geheimen auch an die Asuras die Opfergaben darbrachte, weil seine Mutter aus dem Geschlechte der Asuras war[1]. Mit seinen drei Köpfen nahm er drei verschiedene Funktionen wahr : die des Soma-trinkens, des Weintrinkens und des Speiseessens (VI. 9.1.). Indra lernt viel von seinem Priester Viśvarūpa im Bhāgavata aber tötet ihn schließlich wegen seiner Untreue zu den Göttern[2]. Sobald er ihm jedoch die drei Köpfe abschlägt, wird er von *brahmahatyā*—die Sünde der Tötung eines Brahmanen—befallen[3], was zeigt, daß der vedische Dämon im *Bhāgavata* als ein Brahmane galt. Es ist also in den Purāṇas kein Widerspruch, ein Dämon (*asura*) und zugleich ein Brahmane zu sein. Ein

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1. VI. 9.3.
2. *Bhāg.* VI. 9.4.
3. VI. 9.6.

zweites Beispiel in diesem Zusammenhang wäre das von Śukrācārya, ein Brahmane vom Bhārgava-Geschlecht aber ein Dämon. Die Dämonen brauchen ebenso Priester wie die Menschen und die Götter, weil sie nach der spätvedischen und purāṇischen Vorstellung genauso religiöse Opfer darbringen wie Götter oder Menschen.

1.1.7. Zu erwähnen ist hier noch der Asura-Dämon Namuci. Namuci, "nicht loslassend", ist wahrscheinlich ein Dämon der Dürre, der auf eine merkwürdige Weise von Indra getötet wird. Sein Hals wird mit Hilfe des Wasserschaumes umgedreht—ein Mythos, der meines Erachtens noch gar nicht hat gedeutet werden können. Es scheint also, daß die Klasse der Dämonen, die als "*asura*-s" bezeichnet wird, ihren Ursprung manchen Naturphänomenen verdankt. So wie die guten Kräfte der Natur wie Feuer, Wind, Regen, Sonne etc. zum göttlichen hin personifiziert werden können, ebenso können die unfreundlichen Naturkräfte wie etwa Dürre zum Dämonen hin personifiziert werden.

1.2. DIE DĀSA-S

1.2.1. Ganz anders sieht es jedoch bei den *Dāsa*-s aus. Das sind ursprünglich die Einwohner der Erde. Diese sind Menschen aber Feinde, weil sie zu einem anderen Volksstamm gehören und andere Hautfarbe (schwarz) haben. Ihre Nase ist kurz und flach. Hunderte von ihnen werden von Indra "eingeschläfert" oder gefangengenommen. Ihre Ställe werden von ihm aufgemacht und die Kühe in Besitz genommen. Im späteren Sanskrit bedeutet das Wort *dāsa* regelrecht 'Sklave'.

1.2.2. Der Name und die Beschreibung von Solchen Dāsas wie Śambara scheint durchaus historischen kern zu haben. Er wohnt hoch auf den Bergen, hat 90 oder 99 Burgen, die von Indra im interesse des Königs Divodāsa zerstört werden. Śambara, der sich für einen Gott hält, wird von oben heruntergeholt. Bṛhaspati und Indra dringen dann in seine Bergwohnstätte ein und finden große Reichtümer.

1.2.3. Oft steigen aber die Dämonen *dāsa*-s und *dasyu*-s auch zum abstrakten mythologischen Niveau. Ein gewißer Dasyu wollte zum Himmel hochklettern, wurde aber von Indra hinuntergestürtzt. Er tötet den Dasyu und vertreibt Nebel und Dunkelheit. Er gewinnt die Sonne und Wässer zurück, nachdem er die Dasyus erschlagen hat. Manchmal werden sogar die Dasyus, als Feinde, den Göttern gegenübergestellt. Aus solchen Stellen wird es klar, daß es sich hier um eine Abstraktion aus dem Charakter der Dāsas oder Dasyus handelt. Ihr konkreter, irdischer Charakter wird vergessen und der Begriff Dāsa-Dasyu wird ganz allgemein zu einer Bezeichnung der Dämonen.

1.3. DIE RAKṢAS-AS

1.3.1. Die eigentlichen Feinde der *Menschen* sind jedoch die *rakṣás* (Pl. *rakṣásaḥ* od. *rakṣāṃsi*). Diese sind überall in großer Anzahl vorhanden. Dasselbe Wort mit Akzent auf der ersten Silbe ist ein *Nomen Actionis* neut. und bedeutet "Schädigung". Aber auch dieses Wort kann im Plural (*rákṣāṃsi*) Dämonen bedeuten. Man sieht deutlich, daß solche Dämonen direkte Personifizierungen von der Vorstellung der Schädigung oder Verletzung sind.

1.3.2. Diese Dämonen haben-oder sie können haben—die Formen von Hunden, Geiern, Eulen und anderen Tieren. Ja, sie können sich sogar in Menschen verwandeln und erscheinen einem als Bruder, Ehemann oder Liebhaber, um einen in die Irre zu führen. Besonders gefährlich sind sie für eine—schwangere Frau. Sie wollen gern eine junge Braut in ihre Gewalt bringen und suchen deshalb bei der Hochzeit nach der kleinsten Gelegenheit dazu. Kleine Pfeile werden deshalb beim Hochzeitsritual in alle Himmelsrichtungen verschossen, damit diese ihnen die Augen ausstechen. Sie sehen zwar menschenähnlich aus, haben aber stets eine verunstaltete Körperform. Sie können monströs sein : haben z. B. oft drei Köpfe, vier Augen, fünf Füße, Hände ohne Finger, Füße mit Zehen nach hinten oder Hörner.

1.3.3. Ihre Hautfarbe ist blau, gelb oder grün ; sie sind männlich und weiblich, haben Familie und sogar Könige ; außerdem sind sie sterblich wie die Menschen. Sie sind gewandt in verschiedensten Zauberkünsten ('Yātudhānas') und fressen sehr gerne rohes Menschenfleisch und das von Haustieren—wie etwa Pferden und Kühen. Diese Gewohnheit hat ihnen den Titel *Kravyāda* oder *Piśāca* verschafft. Sie sind blutrünstig und dringen in den menschlichen Körper ein-vor allem durch die Mundöffnung—und verursachen verschiedene Krankheiten. Es wäre vielleicht richtiger zu sagen, daß sie selbst mit den Krankheiten identifiziert werden. Sie wohnen in den verfallenen oder verlassenen Häusern oder in den Wäldern, greifen oft die menschlichen Behausungen an und tanzen um die Häuser herum in den Abendstunden. Abenddämmerung und Mitternacht sind besonders gute Zeiten für die *Rakṣas*. Um diese Tageszeit sind sie besonders stark. Vertrieben werden sie durch die Strahlen der aufgehenden Sonne oder durch Glut und Licht des Feuers. Unzählige Male wird Agni, der Feuergott von den vedischen Dichtern angerufen, die Dämonen zu vertreiben. Religiöse Veranstaltungen lieben die *Rakṣas* gar nicht. Vom Süden herkommend versuchen sie jedes Opfer zu stören. Deshalb brennt im Süden des opferplatzes ständig ein Feuer, das die Funktion hat, die Dämonen fernzuhalten.

1.3.4. Obwohl die *Rakṣas* selbst groβe Zauberer sind, kann man durch Zaubersprüche ihrer Herr werden. So in die Gewalt gebracht, dienen sie ihrem Herrn, der sie dann gegen seinen Feind hetzen kann. Der *Atharvaveda* ist voll von Zaubersprüchen, durch die man die *Rakṣas* bezwingen und dann einsetzen kann.

1.4.0. Zusammenfassend kann man also sagen : die Asuras sind die mysthischen Dämonen mit kosmischen Funktionen; die Dāsas oder Dasyus sind dämonisierte Feinde und die Rakṣas-as sind personifizierte Leiden, Unglück und Krankheit.

2. DIE DÄMONEN IN DER EPISCHEN ZEIT

2.0. Mit diesem überblick über die vedische Literatur gehen wir nun zur epischen und purāṇischen Mythologie über.

DIE ASURAS

2.1. Die *Asuras* und die *Rakṣas'* (ep. *Rākṣasa*) von der vedischen Zeit leben und gedeihen auch in der epischen Zeit weiter. Die *Dāsas* order *Dasyus* sind jedoch als Dämonen völlig verschwunden. Das Wort "dāsa" bedeutet, wie schon erwähnt[1], Sklave oder Diener und das Wort *dasyu* kommt im Sinne von "Räuber" oder "Feind" vor. Die Gruppe der *Rakṣas*-äs ist es jedoch, die sich sehr stark weiterentwickelt, so daβ oft dieses Wort als Oberbegriff für allerlei dämonische Wesen verwendet wird.

2.1.1. Die im *Ṛgveda* vereinzelt erwähnten Asuras bilden in den Brāhmaṇas—in der spätvedischen und vorepischen Zeit—eine *Gruppe* und treten gegen die Götter als ihre Feinde kollektiv auf. Auch in den Epen und Purāṇas werden diese Kämpfe lebhaft geschildert. Diese Kämpfe gehören aber einer längst vergessenen Vergangenheit an. Sie sind für die Purāṇas nicht mehr aktuell. Die Asuras werden meistens als gerechte Herrscher dargestellt. Sie haben die Herrschaft über die Erde von den Göttern—den ursprünglichen Herrschern—entrissen und regieren sie gerecht. Aber da sie Feinde der Götter sind, müssen sie besiegt und vertrieben werden.

2.1.2. Die Götter, den Genüssen des Lebens verfallen, sind viel zu verweichlicht, die tapferen Asuras im Kampf zu besiegen. Deshalb müssen sie oft mit Hilfe des Gottes Viṣṇus zu einer List greifen. Einmal erscheint z. B. Viṣṇu als ein kleiner Zwerg, kommt zum Asurakönig Bali, der gerade ein Opfer bereitet, und bittet ihn um so viel Erde, wie er mit seinen drei Schritten ausmessen kann. Sobald ihm sein Wunsch gewährt wird, verwandelt er sich in einen Riesen und miβt mit seinem ersten Schritt die Erde und mit dem zweiten den Himmel aus.

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1. Siehe oben S. 954 (1.2.1.)

Da für den dritten Schritt kein Raum mehr übrig bleibt und so der Asurakönig sein Versprechen nicht einhalten kann, muß er gefangengenommen und in die Unterwelt verbannt werden[1]. Ein anderes Mal rät Viṣṇu den schwachen und ermatteten Göttern, zusammen mit den Asuras den Milch-Ozean auszuquirlen, um daraus den Unsterblichkeitstrank (*amṛta*) hervorzubringen. Dieser Trank wird auch den Asuras in Aussicht gestellt. Sie arbeiten daraufhin hart mit den Göttern zusammen. Als jedoch das *amṛtam* da ist, erscheint Viṣṇu als ein betörendes Mädchen (*mohanī*) vor den Asuras, bezaubert sie durch seinen Charme, nimmt ihnen das Amṛtagefäß weg, verteilt den Trank an die Götter und verschwindet.[2] Die Asuras ärgern sich und greifen die Götter an. Die Götter aber sind durch das *Amṛta* nun so stark, daß sie die Asuras zurückschlagen und diese in die Unterwelt vertreiben.[3]

2.1.3. Die Asuras sind nicht ganz vergangen. Sie haben nur unsere Welt verlassen und wohnen jetzt in einer der sieben Unterwelten. Sie sind unsterblich; nicht dank der Ambrosia, sondern weil ihr *Guru* und Priester, der Asket Śukrācārya, die sañjīvanī-vidyā, d. h. die Wissenschaft zur Wiederbelebung beherrscht. Alle Asuras, die im Kampf fallen, ruft er mit Hilfe seiner Zaubersprüche wieder ins Leben zurück. Die Götter haben dieses Wissen nicht. Sie Wollten es einmal von Śukra lernen; haben deshalb den Sohn von Bṛhaspati, dem Priester der Götter, namens Kaca zu Śukra geschickt. Devayānī, die Tochter Śukras, verliebt sich jedoch in diesen jungen Mann. Die romantische Geschichte der einseitigen Liebe der Devayānī zu Kaca wird in Matsya Purāṇa,[4] spannend erzählt. Die Asuras hassen Kaca und töten ihn zweimal im wald, aber der Tochter zuliebe muß der weise Śukra den kaca immer wieder ins Leben zurückrufen. Zum Schluß zerstückein ihn die Asuras, verbrennen ihn, vermischen seine Asche in Wein und bieten diesen Śukra zum Trinken an. Śukra trinkt den Wein aus. Als auf Klage Devayānīs Śukra durch Meditation erfährt, daß Kaca in seinem eigenen Leibe sitzt, ist er ratlos. Er kann diesmal Kaca nicht ins Leben zurückrufen, ohne sich selbst zu zersrören. Schließlich fällt ihm doch noch eine Möglichkeit ein. Er stellt Kaca in seinem Leib wieder her, lehrt ihn die Wissenschaft noch während er in seinem Leib ist, und erlaubt ihm aus dem Leib herauszukommen. Śukra muß natürlich dabei sein Leben

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1. *Bhāg*. VIII.18-21 USW.
2. *Ibid*. VIII.8.9.
3. *Ibid*. VIII.10.11.
4. *Adh*. 25,26.

lassen. Der dankbare Schüler ruft jedoch seinen Lehrer laut Vereinbarung wieder ins Leben zurück. Als er sich aber weigert, Devayānī zu heiraten, weil sie eigentlich die Tochter seines Lehrers und somit im Grunde seine Schwester sei, verflucht ihn Devayānī, daβ das Wissen, das er bei ihrem Vater erworben hat, ohne Wirkung bleiben werde.

2.1.4. Auch die Dämonen, die Indra im Veda getötet haben soll, werden in den Epen als noch lebend geschildert. Sie waren einst groβe Herrscher, jetzt aber verbringen sie ihr bescheidenes Dasein oft in irgendeiner Berghöhle. Das bewegte Schicksal hat sie zum Nachdenken veranlaβt und groβe Philosophen aus ihnen gemacht. Sie werden deshalb von den Göttern—vor allem von Indra selbst—aufgesucht, um Belehrung auf dem Gebiet der Lebens-Weisheiten zu erhalten.[1]

2.1.5. Sehr viele Asuras sind auf diese Weise "entdämonisiert" und oft in groβe Viṣṇu-Verehrer umgewandelt. Sie sind tapfer und haben edlen Charakter. Vṛtra ist ein aus dem Opferfeuer hervorgegangener Dämon, den Tvaṣṭṛ ins Leben gerufen hat, um sich an Indra zu rächen, der seinen Sohn Viśvarūpa, einen Priester der Götter, umgebracht hat. Er (Vṛtra) ist ein Welt-abgeneigter Dämonenasket, dem es auf die Ausführung seiner Pflicht ankommt. Er ist stärker als Indra, ist imstande ihn samt seinem Elephanten zu verschlingen und es hätte schlimm mit Indra ausgehen können, wenn nicht der groβe Asket Dadhīci sein Leben für ihn gelassen hätte, aus dessen Knochen er seinen Donnerkeil herstellen lieβ. Vṛtra hält eine vorzügliche philosophische Rede auf dem Kampffeld im *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[2] und ist Indra unterlegen, nur weil sein Erzeuger Tvaṣṭṛ bei seiner Geburt einen *Mantra* falsch betont hat.[3] Der charakter von Asura Namuci ist in vieler Hinsicht ännlich. Anch er gilt als Philosoph und hält gelehrte Reden[4] über die Bedeutung von 'Zeit' und 'Schicksal'. Als Schwäche im Charakter der Asuras, die schlieβlich zu ihrem Abfall führt, wird oft Hochmut und die groβe Selbstachtung angegeben.

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1. Cf. *Mbh.* XII.223, 224, 227 and XII.226 der Gitā Press–Ausgabe.
2. VI.11.14-272, 12.7-22.
3. Ft hat beim Spruch इन्द्रशत्रो विवर्धस्व ("gedeihe, O Vernichter von Indra !") Statt *indraśátro*, *Indraśatro* ausgesprochen, was die Bedeutung ergab : "Indra, der Vernichter, solle Wachsen". Vgl. noch den folgenden im *Mahābhāṣya* und im der *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* zittierten Vers :

   मन्त्रो हीनःस्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
   स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥
4. Cf. *Mbh.* 12.226.

2.1.6. Etwas anders läuft die Entwicklung bei den Asuras, die in die Kṛṣṇa-Legende einbezogen sind. Sie haben immer noch relativ negative Eigenschaften. Zu erwähnen wäre z. B. der vedische Vala, der auf Geheiß Kaṃsas, die Rinder von Kṛṣṇa und seinen Spielgefährten wegführt, sie in eine Berghöhle einsperrt und die Offnung mit einem großen Stein verschließt. Dieser Asura wird schließlich von Kṛṣṇa getötet der die Rinder und die Kinder aus der Höhle befreit[1] wo jedoch der Dämon Vyoma heißt. Śambara ist in den Purāṇas nicht mehr ein Dāsa, sondern ein Asura, der von Pradyumna, dem Sohn Kṛṣṇas getötet wird[2], Er ist bekannt für seine vielerlei Zauberkünste und Māyā, die Täuschung. Die dämonische Māyā wird jedoch durch die göttliche Māyā besiegt und vernichtet.

DIE RĀKṢASAS

2.2.1. Die eigentlichen Urheber der Māyā sind jedoch in den Purāṇas die *Rākṣasa*-s und nicht mehr die Asuras. Māyā ist die Zauberkraft der Dämonen, durch die sie ein Trugbild hervorgaukeln. Das ist ihre ganze Stärke. Der Dämonenkönig Rāvaṇa verfügt über einhundert solcher Māyās, die er von den Daityas in der Unterwelt gelernt hat. Es ist schwierig, die Dämonen im Kampf zu schlagen, weil sie sich in Wildeber, Yakṣas, Berge, Wolken, Bäume, ja sogar in einen Ozean oder Pfeile verwandeln Können. Der Dāmon Mārīca erscheint Sītā, der Gattin Rāmas, in Form einer Gazelle, um Rāma wegzulocken.[3] Seinen Gegner Rāvaṇa konnte Rāma optisch überhaupt nicht wahrnehmen, weil er durch seine Māyā unsichtbar blieb und auf ihn von oben Steine, Knochen, Blut etc. herabschleuderte.[4] Nur derjenige, der die Māyā der Dämonen vernichtet, kann sie fassen und verletzen.

2.2.2. Rākṣasas werden in den Epen und Purāṇas anthropomorph dargestellt. Jeder Mensch kann zum Rākṣasa-sein herabsteigen, falls er entsprechend verwerfliche Taten begeht. Der König Sudāsa wird vom Asketen verflucht, ein *Rākṣasa* zu werden, weil in seiner Küche unwissentlich Menschenfleisch gekocht und den *Ṛṣi*-s zum Essen angeboten worden ist. In seinem *Rākṣasa*-Dasein frißt der König Sudāsa sämtliche Söhne Viśvāmitra's auf. Die *Rākṣasa*-s sind, mit anderen Worten, Kannibalen. Als im *Rāmāyaṇa* der Schöpfergott Brahmā dem Dämonen Kumbhakarṇa wegen seiner langen Askese einen Wunsch gewähren

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1. *Bhāg*. X.37.27-33.
2. *Ibid*. X.55.
3. *Rām*. III.42,43.
4. *Ibid*. VI.102.

will, protesteiren die Götter und weisen darauf hin, daβ er schon früher 7 himmlische Nympfen, 10 Diener Indra's, mehrere Ṛṣis und Menschen gefressen hat und wenn er jetzt durch die Wunschgewährung noch gestärkt würde, werde er alle drei Welten aufzehren.[1] Auch Rāvaṇa friβt Asketen mit vorliebe, laut Angabe im späteren Teil des *Rāmāyaṇa.*

2.2.3. Die Rākṣasas der Epen sind keine Krankheitsdämonen wie sie im *Atharvaveda* vorkommen. Diese haben jetzt einen festen Wohnsitz, ihre Stadt besteht zum groβen Teil aus Gold, sie wohnen in schönen Häusern und gehen ihren Berufen genauso nach wie die Menschen. Suṣeṇa, der Arzt der Dämonen, rettet Lakṣmaṇa, den jüngeren Bruder Rāmas, aus dem Rachen des Todes.[2] Zwar sind nicht alle Rākṣasas so übelgesonnen wie Rāvaṇa und Kumbhakarṇa, aber sie sind natürliche Feinde der Menschen. Der Kern des Epos des *Rāmāyaṇa* ist bekanntlich ein Kampf zwischen dem *Rākṣasa* Rāvaṇa und dem Manschen Rāma, dessen Frau Sīta der Dämon entführt hat.

2.2.4. Rāvaṇa wird als ein groβer Verehrer Śivas dargestellt. Es werden ihm sogar einige śivaitische Lobeshymnen (z. B. *Śivatāndava-Stotram*) und ein Kommentar über *Ṛgveda* zugeschrieben. Er spricht reine Sanskrit-Sprache ; keinen mittelindischen Dialekt. Als Hanumān auf der Suche nach Sīta in den Garten Kommt, wo Sīta interniert ist, will er sie nicht auf Sanskrit anreden, weil Sīta ihn so (beim ersten Blick) für Rāvaṇa halten und sich somit erschrecken wird :

यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम् ।
रावणं मन्यमाना मां सीता भीता भविष्यति ।।[3]

Daβ Rāvaṇa reine Sprache spricht, kommt daher, daβ er eigentlich Sohn eines Ṛṣis (Asketen) namens *Pulastya* ist.[4] Seine besonders schlechte Natur verdankt er seiner Dämonin Mutter, die ihn in einer höchst ungünstigen Zeit, zur Zeit der Abendnämmerung, empfangen hat ; einer Zeit in der die dämonischen Wesen herumstrolchen.[5]

2.2.5. Die *Rākṣasa*-s haben im allgemeinen keine monströsen Verunstaltungen. Zwar hat Rāvaṇa in der indischen Mythologie später zehn Köpfe, aber das scheint eine spätere populäre Erklärung seines Namens "Daśagrīva" zu sein, der

1. VII.10.35-40.
2. *Rām.* VI.91.20-25; 101.44.45.
3. *Ibid.* 5.30.18.
4. *Mbh.* II.275.7; *Rām.* VII.2.9.
5. *Rām.* VII.9.22-24.

vielleicht genauso ein Name war, wie Daśaratha, Daśagva, Navagva etc., Das Wort 'rāvaṇa' ("einer, der zum schreien bringt,"[1] im übertragenen Sinn ein, 'quäler' oder 'tyrann') scheint ursprünglich ein Adjektiv zu sein. Der Bruder Rāvaṇas, Kumbhakarṇa, ist ein Dämonenriese. Da er zum Stillen seines Hungers jeden Tag viele Tiere–manchmal sogar Menschen--braucht, hat Brahmā angeordnet, daβ er sechs Monate schläft und nur für einen Tag aufwacht. Er wohnt in einer Berghöhle, die ein *Yojana* (ca. 10 km) lang und ebenso breit ist. Als Rāvaṇa im Kampf schlecht abschneidet, schickt er Wächter zu Kumbhakarṇa, um ihn aufzuwecken. Als die Wächter und Soldaten in die Berghöhle eintreten wollen, werden sie von seinen Atemzügen weit zurückgeworfen.[2] Mit groβer Mühe gelingt es ihnen hereinzukommen. Da liegt Kumbhakarṇa auf dem Boden wie ein zusammengestürtzter Berg. Sie wissen, daβ er immer groβen Hunger hat, wenn er aufsteht. Deshalb bringen sie ihm viele Tiere und Gefässe mit Blut mit. Sie machen groβen Lärm in der Höhle, stechen ihn mit Speeren und schlagen ihn mit Keulen usw. Aber er spürt erst etwas, als eine groβe Anzahl von Elefanten, Kamelen und Pferden auf ihn losgelassen wird und diese anfangen ihn zu zertrampeln. Sobald er aufsteht, friβt er in einer Kurzen Zeit, mehrere Eber, Wasserbüffel und andere Tiere und trinkt mehrere Krüge Blut sowie Tierfett, gefolgt von Wein.[3]

2.2.6. Zwar stören die Rākṣasas auch in den Epen und Purāṇas die Opferveranstaltungen und sind gegen jegliche religiösen Zeremonien,[4] haben aber früher selbst vedische Opfer veranstaltet, Vedas gelesen, die Armen beschenkt und den *dharma* wiederhergestellt.[5] Auβerdem haben sie oft hunderte von Jahren *tapas* (Askese) ausgeübt.[6] Das Schlimme und Verwerfliche jedoch bei ihnen ist, daβ sie die Macht, die sie durch solche religiösen Handlungen gewonnen haben, nur miβbrauchen, um dadurch die armen Menschen zu quälen und sie für ihre Genüsse auszubeuten. Sie sind herrschaftssüchtige Diktatoren, wenden Gewalt an, meinen, sie seien über alles erhaben und halten sich sogar für Götter. Sie verhindern die Veranstaltung religiöser Zeremonien nicht weil sie den Kult zerstören wollen, sondern weil sie verhindern wollen, daβ die anderen durch

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1. रावयामास लोकान् यत् तस्माद् रावण उच्यते *Mbh.* III.275.40.
2. VI.60.25.41.
3. *Rām.* VI.60.14-63.
4. z. B. die Geschichte Viśvāmitras im *Rāmāyaṇa* I.19-30, der sich die Brüder Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa ausleiht, damit die Ṛṣis ungestört Opfer darbringen können.
5. *Rām.* VII.6.40.
6. *Bhāg.* VII.3.

diese Zeremonien materielle und spirituelle Macht erlangen und ihnen dadurch ihre Vorherrschaft strittig machen. Man kann sie somit im allgemeinen als Verkörperung der bösen weltlichen Macht und der Gewalt bezeichnen.

DIE PIŚĀCAS

2.3.0. Die Funktion, die die Rākṣasas im *Atharvaveda* ausüben, wird in der purāṇischen Zeit von den *Piśāca*-s ausgeübt—ursprünglich ein Adjektiv der krankheitverursachenden Dämonen (weil das Wort oft mit '*Kravyāda*', später '*piśitāśana*', d. i. "Rohfleischfresser" ersetzt wird). Das sind eigentlich die Menschenfleischgierigen Dämonen, die unsichtbar auf der Erde umherflattern und die Menschen befallen.

DIE PRETAS

2.4.0. Befallen und besessen wird der Mensch auch von den bösen Geistern, den *Preta*-s. Das sind die Seelen der frühzeitig gestorbenen oder verunglückten Menschen mit einem Körper aus Feinmaterie. Da sie ihr irdisches Leben nicht ausgelebt haben und deshalb viele unerfüllte Wünsche haben, können sie sich von der Bindung an die Welt noch nicht lösen und versuchen durch den Körper eines anderen Menschen an den irdischen Genüssen teilzuhaben.

DIE DAITYAS

2.5. *Daitya*-s und *Dānava*-s sind andere Bezeichnungen für die Dämonen in der purāṇischen Literatur. Eigentlich sollten sie zwei verschiedene Klassen von Dämonen representieren. Aber das tun sie meistens nicht und fallen zusammen. Daityas sind die Söhne, vielmehr die Nachkommen, der *Diti*, einer Frau des Schöpferasketen (*Prajāpati-ṛṣi*) Kaśyapas. Kaśyapa hat vierzehn Frauen. Aus Aditi werden die Götter—vor allem aber die 12 wichtigsten Gotter, die *Āditya*-s—geboren und aus Diti die *Daitya*-s oder Dämonen.

2.5.1. Diti ist längst nicht so bekannt in der vedischen Literatur wie Aditi, die Mutter der Götter, die etwa Uugebundenheit, Unbegrenztheit oder Unendlichkeit bedeutet. Die Götter als Unsterbliche sind 'Söhne der Unendlichkeit'. Später wird unter der Weglassung des anlautenden *a* (alpha privativum) ein Gegenstück "Diti" gebildet, das genau das Gegenteil von "Aditi" bedeuten soll und als die Mutter der Dämonen gilt. Zwar kann das Wort *daitya* auch *Rākṣasa*-s und *Dānava*-s einschließen, aber oft wird es für ein bestimmtes Geschlecht der Dämonen gebraucht. Besonders hervorzuheben sind in diesem Geschlecht die Daitya-Dämonen Hiraṇyākṣa und Hiraṇyakaśipu, die von Viṣṇu in seiner Eber-

bzw. Mannloweninkarnation getötet werden[1]. Es gibt wenig im Charakter des Autokraten Hiraṇyakaśipu, das ihn vom Rākṣasaherrscher Rāvaṇa unterscheiden würde. In den Viṣṇuitischen Purāṇas wird er als ein großer Viṣṇufeind dargestellt, der sich für einen Weltenherrn hält und seinen frommen Sohn Prahlāda verfolgt.[2]

2.5.1.1. Da alle weitere, Nachkommen Hiraṇyakaśipus fromm sind und keine dämonischen Züge mehr aufweisen, werden die dämonischen Züge mehr aufweisen, werden die dämonischen Züge bei den Brüdern Hiraṇyakaśipu und Hiraṇyākṣa auf die Empfängnis zu einer ungünstigen Stunde zurückgerführt. Die vom Liebesfieber geplagte Diti zwingt ihren Mann, sich in der Zeit der Abenddämmerung mit ihr zu vereinigen. Das ist genau die stunde, da Śiva zusammen mit seinem Gefolge von Geistern und dämonischen Wesen spazierengeht. Auch sonst stehen die Dämonen dem Śiva ziemlich nah. Bāṇāsura, der Urenkel Hiraṇyakaśipus, ist ein enger Verehrer Śivas, haßt aber Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu.[3] Trotzdem kommt die Heirat zwischen seiner Tochter Uṣā und dem Enkel Kṛṣṇas, dem Aniruddha, zustande, weil die beiden sich innig lieben !

DIE DĀNAVAS

2.6. *Dānavas* sind eine andere Gruppe von Dämonen, die *dānu* als ihre Mutter haben. Das Wort bedeutet "Wasserstrom" im *Ṛgveda*[4] und die Mutter Vṛtras wird so bezeichnet.[5] In den Purāṇas macht sie sich jedoch selbständig, ist eine der Frauen Kaśyapa's und gebärt eine neue Klasse von Dämonen, die jedoch wenig eigenen Charakter hat. Der berühmteste der *Dānava*-s ist der Dämon Maya, ein wort das aus Māyā (Trugbild, Illusion) zurückgebildet worden zu sein scheint. Er gilt nicht nur als Erzeuger der Zauberkraft, sondern als ein hervorragender Architekt, Bauingenieur und Bildhauer. Er baut einen Palast für die Pāṇḍavas im *Mahābhārata*.[6] Ihm wird auch ein altes Sanskrit Werk über Tempelarchitektur (Maya-*matam*)[7] zugeschrilben. Seine Tochter, die hübsche Mandodarī,

1. *Bhāg*. III.13-19.VII.8.
2. VII.4.5.
3. *Bhāg*. p. X.63.
4. VI.49.13, VIII.24.6.
5. I.32.9.
6. 2.1.
7. Ediert und ins Französiche übersetzt von Bruno Dagens, Pondichéry, 1970-76. (Publications de l' Institut Francais d'Indologie, Nr. 40).

gibt er jedoch dem Rākṣasakonig Rāvaṇa Zur Frau.[1] Die Frauen der anderen zwei Brüder Rāvaṇas kommen aus den Geschlechtern von *Daitya*-s und *Gandharva*-s. Das zeigt deutlich, daß die verschiedenen Dämonen-Geschlechter eng zusammengehoren.

DIE YAKṢAS

2.7. In diesem Zusammenhang seien hier noch die *Yakṣa*-s erwähnt. *Yakṣa*-s wurden in den vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten in Nordindien überall als Schutzgottheiten verehrt. Wir haben viele Steinstatuen der *Yakṣa*-s aus dieser Zeit in den indischen Museen. Die *Yakṣa*-s sind große gewaltige Wesen,[2] die über ein bestimmtes Gebiet herrschen. Sie sind nicht omnipräsens wie Gotter, haben aber übernatürliche Kräfte, können Wünsche erfüllen und Unglück vertreiben, Sie sind klug und gescheit. Im *Mahābhārata* stellt ein *Yakṣa* an Yudhiṣṭhira scharfsinnige Fragen, als er aus einem von ihm besetzten Teich Wasser trinken will.[3] Sie haben unermeßliche Reichtümer. Ihr Konig Kubera ist Hüter der nördlichen Himmelsrichtung, wohnt in seiner goldenen Stadt Alakā in Himalayas und heißt *dhanādhipati* d. h. Herr der Reichtümer. Im *Rāmāyaṇa* sind die *Yakṣa*-s Halbbrüder der *Rākṣasa*-s, die ursprünglich auf der Insel Laṅkā (Ceylon ?) regieren aber dann von Rāvaṇa nach Norden vertrieben werden.[4]

Yakṣa-s sind eine Klasse, die einen Übergang von Dämonen zu den göttlichen Wesen darstellen und deshalb können wir unsere Darstellung der indischen Dämonen hier abschließen.

1. *Rām.* 7.13,17-19.
2. *Mbh.* 3.13.38,39
3. III.312-314.
4. VII.2-11.

SECTION VII

Art and Architecture

EXCAVATIONS AT HASTINĀPURA AND THEIR BEARING ON THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

B. B. Lal

1. INTRODUCTION

The name of Hastināpura usually conjures up in the mind of an average Indian the picture of a highly flourishing city with palaces and pageantry, where the scenes connected with the *Mahābhārata* story were enacted in the hoary past. This seems to be due to what he has been told time and again since his childhood, first probably by the favourite bed-time story-teller, viz. the grandmother, and then by *pundits* and traditionalists who would always like to extol the past to the maximum. But if we try to go a bit deeper into the problem we would soon discover that neither the *pundits* nor the traditionalists nor, of course, the poor grandmothers are to blame for the notions that have been cherished about Hastināpura or the *Mahābhārata*. If the reader is told that in its first known form the book (the *Mahābhārata*) was called as the *Jaya* and contained only 8,800 verses, then it swelled to 24,000 verses and was named the *Bhārata*, and finally it reached the mark of 1,00,000 verses and came to be known as the *Mahābhārata*, he would at once realize the amount of inflation, which is in the ratio of 1 :11. Further, one does not know if there was a still earlier and 'the original' form and how many verses it contained. So much for the size.

Now if we come to the time-factor, we find another very interesting feature. The *Mahābhārata*, in the form in which it is available to us now (i. e. of 1,00,000 verses), refers not only to the *Yavana*-s (i. e. the Ionian Greeks), the *Romaka*-s (the Romans), but also to the *Hūṇa-s* (the Huns). From history we know that the Huns did not appear on the Indian scene before the fourth century A. D. It would thus be common logic to say that since the available *Mahābhārata* refers to the Huns, it is unlikely to have been earlier than the fourth century A. D. On the other hand, the story that it seeks to narrate cannot in any case be placed after the Buddha (sixth century B. C.), for the history after

him is so well known that it leaves no room for the interpolation of Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā or Duryodhana or Yudhiṣṭhira at Hastināpura. There is thus a time-gap of at least a thousand years between the *Mahābhārata* event (if it did take place) and the *Mahābhārata* text as available to us now. Under the circumstances, how can one expect that the text is a faithful presentation of the event ? The poets (or may be court-bards) who inflated the original text from time to time had the full play of their imagination and it is because of this that we have descriptions of mighty places at Hastināpura or of *akṣauhiṇī senā* (immensely large-sized army) at Kurukshetra.

When such is the bewildering situation, what has the seeker after the truth to do ? Should he blindly accept whatever has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the gospel truth or should he reject it outright since it is evidently a late and outlandish narrative ? The present writer does not feel that it would be justified to take either of the foregoing positions. He would plead for a thorough literary combing of the text, applying and devising scientific ways and means to arrive at the 'kernel'. This is, however, for the learned Sanskritists to do : the project may take a very long time, but it may be within the realms of possibility. As an archaeologist, the writer thought of approaching the problem in his own way. He tried to explore and excavate as many of the *Mahābhārata* sites as possible, and to find out if they could throw some light on the problem. It was with this end in view that the excavations at Hastināpura were undertaken. The work was done in two field-seasons, namely 1950-51 and 51-52. Along with it, during those very years, as well as before and after them, over sixty sites connected with the story were explored. Although the report had been published way back (1954-55) in *Ancient India,* it does not seem to have reached many scholars, particularly the Sanskritists, and thus many a misconception still persists. Hence, in the following pages are presented briefly the results of the entire work and the tentative conclusion that might be drawn therefrom in regard to the historicity, date, etc. of the *Mahābhārata* event.

2. THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONMENTS

Hastināpura is located in Meerut District of Uttar Pradesh, at a distance about 35 kilometres in a north-easterly direction from the district headquarters. As one approaches the site, one sees a series of mounds jutting out from the eastern horizon. At places they rise to a height of about 18 metres above the surrounding ground-level. All this height, however, does not represent the occupational deposits which account for about 10 metres only, the remaining lower portion being the natural soil exposed on account of erosion in the course of time. The mounds stand on the right bank of the Gaṅgā which now flows at a distance of about 8 kilometres to the east, but in ancient times seems to have flown past the site as is indicated by a channel of the river, called Būḍhī Gaṅgā (old Gaṅgā), which is only about a kilometre away.

The ancient site, now ripped by ravines which give to it the look of at least two separate mounds, was one unit. Its available length is about four-fifths of a kilometre, while the breadth is only about half that size. Excavations, however, have shown (below, p. 1009) that after the second settlement the site was destroyed by a flood. It is thus likely that anciently the site may have been much wider.

3. THE SEQUENCE OF CULTURES

The main purpose of the 1950-52 excavations at Hastināpura was to ascertain the sequence of cultures at the site and more particularly to find out the stratigraphic position of a very distinctive pottery called the Painted Grey Ware which had earlier been found during the course of explorations at this and a few other sites having association with the *Mahābhārata* story. With this end in view only 'substantive' (i. e. elongated) trenches were laid out, one of which cut right across the northern part of the site. Since the objective for the time being was only limited, no horizontal work was undertaken. The latter, however, is a great desideratum and should be attended to although no doubt systematic removal of the thick deposits overlying the P. G. W. Culture would involve a great deal of time and money. Nevertheless, in the interest of knowledge, and more particularly in order to throw more light on the so-much-debated historicity of the *Mahābhārata* episode, no labour or money should, it is felt, be regarded as too much.

The excavation revealed five periods of occupation, with clear breaks in between them all.

From bottom upwards, Period I was represented by a pottery which was red in colour and the surface of which had so much deteriorated that on handling it left ocherous substance on the fingers. It was on this simple and immediate diagnostic basis that the pottery was given the name Ochre Colour Ware. Subsequent explorations and excavations at other sites like Lāl Qilā in District Bulandshahar; Saipai in District Etawah, both in U. P., etc., have shown that this ware was often slipped and sometimes painted with designs in black pigment. The excavation at Saipai has also confirmed a guess hazarded earlier by the writer that this pottery was likely to have been associated with the Copper Hoards (comprising harpoons, antennae swords, anthropomorphic figures, etc.).

This first settlement at Hastināpura, however, seems to have been a sporadic one, for in the deposit concerned, which was not much different from the natural clay underneath, only occasional sherds were found, there being neither a floor-level nor an ash layer, much less any structure, indicative of a regular, prolonged occupation.

After this first occupation, whatever might have been its nature, the site was des-

erted for quite some time. This is suggested by the black tinge which the top part of the soil acquired because of the vegetation that had grown over it during the desertion. Further, no potsherd of this Period was found mixed up in the layers of the next higher Period and *vice-versa.*

Period II, with which we are primarily concerned in the present discussion, was characterised by a very distinctive pottery, viz. the Painted Grey Ware, to which a reference has already been made in the foregoing pages. As the very name indicates, it is a grey ware with paintings executed in black pigment. Made of fine-grained and well-levigated clay, the ware is wheel-turned and fired in a reducing condition in the kiln, which gave to it the grey colour. The designs, painted before firing, include mainly linear and curvilinear motifs, such as dots and dashes, horizontal and oblique lines, concentric circles or semi-circles, spirals, sigmas, *svastika*-s, etc. Animal or human figures are conspicuous by their absence. The more common types in this ware (pl. I) are the *thāli* (dish) and *kaṭorā* (bowl) which together with the *loṭā* (vase, found less frequently) constitute the typical dinner set found in almost all Indian households even today.

Lest it should be assumed that the Painted Grey Ware was the only ceramic used during this Period, it should at once be added that it was only what may be called the 'table ware', there being other wares in simultaneous existence, of which the red ware accounted for the majority. Besides these two, there were a black-and-red ware (very limited in quantity) and a black-slipped ware, the latter sometimes having a smooth finish.

The economy of the people was based essentially on agriculture and cattle-breeding. A noteworthy cereal found at Hastināpura was rice, while bones indicate the domestication of the cattle, buffalo, sheep, pig, besides the horse. The people's interest in hunting is indicated by the presence of the antlers of the deer, which were utilized for making tools.

Since the excavation was not a horizontal one, no house-plans were obtained. It was, however, noted that the houses were made of wattle-and-daub or of mud. Remains of fragmentary mudbricks indicated their use, although no complete specimen was found and hence their size could not be determined. Likewise, a small fragment of a kiln-burnt brick also indicated its knowledge. To know about the building activities of these people a horizontal excavation is a must. (It may, however, be added here that at a recently—excavated site, viz. Bhagwānpurā in Kurukshetra District, kiln-burnt bricks have been found in the P. G. W. levels, as also a somewhat detailed plan of a mud-house has been noted.)

The people used both copper and iron. In this context it may be recalled that the Indus Valley people had no knowledge of the latter metal. Amongst the copper objects found in the Period, mention may be made of an arrow-head, an antimony rod, a borer and a nail-parer. Of iron, only slags were found in the upper levels during the 1950-52 excavation. However, in a subsequent dig, nails and a few other objects were found. At other sites, such as Atranjīkherā, etc., a large variety of iron objects has been found in the P. G. W. levels, including arrow-heads, spear-heads and daggers which may have been used for warfare. Some fine-pointed tools were also made from the antlers. While their exact use is not known, it is not unlikely that these may have been used as arrow-heads. It has sometimes been suggested that these were styli, used for writing, but since no inscription has so far been found from the P. G. W. levels of any site, it is difficult to be sure on this point.

The females bedecked their person with beads, made variously of agate, carnelian, jasper and even bone. However, more noteworthy was the use of glass bangles which, incidentally, are the earliest examples of the kind found so far in the country.

The childern played some game with terracotta discs, sometimes specially made and sometimes improvised from broken pots. A few of the latter specimens were found having one or two holes. It may be surmised that a thread was passed through these holes and the discs were used in the way they are done by childern even now.

It may be well worth while to add here that in the P. G. W. levels at Rupnagar (formerly known as Ropar) in Punjab has been found an oblong die of bone. On each of the four sides it has holes, their numbers being 1 opposite 3 and 2 opposite 4. The die is in marked contrast to the cubical one found at the sites of the Indus civilization, which bears 1-6 markings. The oblong one, with 1-4 marks, is used nowadays in the game of ***Chaupar*** or ***Chausar***; and that this was most likely the game played by the P. G. W. people is further indicated by the occurrence of a plano-convex gamesman at Noh, which, again, is similar in shape to the gamesman used in ***Chaupar*** these days. (The Noh gamesman happens to be of the same fabric and colour as the Painted Grey Ware. In fact, it even bears a design painted in balck pigment.)

The terracotta objects of the Period included one each of a feeding cup, stamp and pendant and a few animal figurines representing the humped cattle, and indeed, the horse.

After the site had been under habitation for quite some time, as indicated by the accumulation of about 2.5 metres of occupational strata, there occurred a heavy flood in the Gaṅgā, destroying a considerable portion of the settlement. On the riverside of the mound was encountered the erosional scar (pl. II) left by the flood, adjacent to which was also found, lying pell-mell, some of the material which had tumbled down from the

mound. Overlying this material were bands of sand and clay, which evidently got accummulated subsequently. In order to cross-check this evidence, a few borings were made in the ancient river-bed (pl. III) and it is interesting to note that in some of these borings the washed-down material was encountered as many as 15 metres below the water-level. It is thus evident that it was the flood that brought about the end of the Painted Grey Ware settlement at Hastināpura.

After an interval of time, the duration of which will be discussed later, the site was re-occupied for the third time (Period III). By now the Painted Grey Ware had undergone a devolution. The paintings were no longer there, except for an odd trickle of paint discernible on just a few examples. The texture had become coarser and the thickness of the section greater. In spite of all these changes it was evident that this plain and coarse grey ware was a descendent of the Painted Grey Ware. In fact, the more popular shapes of the latter, viz. the dish and bowl, continued in the former, though there were some minor variations in the details of the form. But aesthetically what was lost in this ware was gained in another, viz. the Northern Black Polished (N. B. P.) Ware. With its very characteristic shine, it had a wide range of colours : from steel grey and blue-black through silvery to even golden.

The houses were now built of either mud-bricks on kiln-burnt bricks, the size in both cases being $44.5 \times 25.5 \times 7$ cm. Towards the end of the Period another brick-size, $37 \times 23 \times 6.5$ cm., viz came into being. In addition, trapezoidal bricks were also in use, for constructing circular structures like a barn or a well. During this period were also encountered what are known as 'ring-wells'. These were made by placing terracotta rings one over another.

By now a sense of systematic house-planning and of providing civic amenities seems to have developed. This was indicated by the orinetation (north-south and east-west) of the walls and by the provision of a system of drainage. Had the excavation been a horizontal one, perhaps an idea could have been obtained of the town-planning as well.

Another very noteworthy feature of this Period was the prevalence of a system of coinage, which reflects the augmentation of trade and commerce. The coins were of two varieties, known as 'punch-marked' and 'cast', the former being both in silver and copper while the latter only in copper.

With well-planned houses and drainage and a system of coinage, period III seems to have set the pace for urbanization. Indeed it was about this time that northern India saw the rise of the *Mahājanapada*-s.

The settlement of Period III at Hastināpura seems to have come to an end because of a large-scale fire, the traces of which were seen all over the site.

After a brief desertion, the site was occupied for the fourth time (Period IV). On the basis of the occurrence of typical Śuṅga terracottas and coins of the Rājās of Mathurā, the beginning of this period is assignable to the second century B. C. The Vth period belongs to the medieval times and with it we are not concerned in the present context.

4. THE CHRONOLOGY

When in 1952 the report on the excavation at Hastināpura was written, the ^{14}C method of dating was not available. Thus, one had to depend on what may be called 'relative' dating. Period III was, therefore, dated on the one hand by its precedence over Period IV and on the other because of the occurrence of the N. B. P. Ware throughout the Period. Since, as already stated above, there was a break of occupation between Periods III and IV, it was inferred that the end of Period III may have come in the third century B. C. As to its beginning, the then available evidence regarding the chronological horizon of the N. B. P. Ware was utilized. The more noteworthy evidence in this respect had come from Taxila, where out of about twenty sherds of this Ware, two came from Sirkap and eighteen from Bhir Mound. Of the Sirkap sherds, one came from the lowest levels of the site, ascribable to the second century B. C., while the other was found unstratified near Hathial range. Of the eighteen sherds found at Bhir Mound, only one lay between the surface and 1.85m. below it, while the remaining seventeen were found variously between the depths of 1.85 m. and 4m. below the surface. These horizons are important, since at an average depth of 1.85 m. below the surface lay in mint-condition the coins of Alexander and thus that level may reasonably be ascribed to *circa* 300 B. C. Accordingly, with 2.15 metres of pre-Alexandrian deposits, the appearance of the N. B. P. Ware at Taxila may broadly be assigned to the sixth century B. C. By tranferrence of the date of the N. B. P. Ware to Hastināpura (which, it may be recalled, is nearer the epicentre of this ware), a date from sixth to third century B. C. was assigned to Period III at this site.

Quite some time after the dating of Period III of Hastināpura had been done in the foregoing manner, the method of ^{14}C dating became available. The specimens taken from the various levels of Period III, however, indicate a date-range from fourth to first century B. C. This would seem to upset the dating arrived at earlier. But that this may not really be so is suggested by two very important factors. In the first place, all the ^{14}C (charcoal) samples from Hastināpura were found mixed with rootlets and are, therefore, likely to have been affected by them and rendered younger. Further, one has also to look at the issue in the context of the ^{14}C dates for the N. B. P. Ware at other sites in northern India. The dates for the lower levels are : 485 $\pm$ 100 B. C. at Rupnagar; 685 $\pm$ 105 B. C. at Noh; and 555 $\pm$ 100 B. C. at Atranjīkherā. At Kauśāmbi there is the date of

500 ± 105 B. C. for a lower middle level of the Ware and thus the lowest level will naturally go back much earlier. With this general pattern of the dating of the N. B. P. W. at sites all around, would it be appropriate to regard Hastināpura as a late island of this Ware ? Secondly, the ^{14}C dates themseleves require to be corrected according to what is known as the MASCA correction. Indeed, the latest correction table provided by Dr. R. M. Clark[1] will put the lowest rootlet-affected ^{14}C date for Period III at Hastināpura, viz. 340 ± 100 B. C. to 415 B. C., and those mentioned above in respect of Rupnagar, Noh, Atranjīkherā Ahichchhatrā and Kauśāmbī respectively to 530, 855, 740, 510 and 660 B. C. While the Noh date may be on the earlier side, it is evident that on the whole the date assigned in 1952 to Period III, namely from the sixth to third century B. C. may still hold good. Indeed, the emergence of the N. B. P. Ware in the *epicentral region* may go back to even seventh century B. C.

To come to the Period II. As stated earlier, the settlement of this Period came to an end because of a flood in the Gaṅgā and there was a break of occupation between it and Period III. During this interval, the Painted Grey Ware devolved into a plain and coarse grey ware and there was the emergence of the highly sophisticated Northern Black Polished Ware. Also, a new economic wave, as reflected by the innovation of coinage, and some sort of urbanization, as evidenced by well-planned houses and drains of kiln-burnt bricks, took over the scene. Such changes are likely to have taken a couple of centuries to come into being. It was, therefore, suggested that the end of Period II may be placed around 800 B. C. With a 2.15-m. thick regular occupational deposit to go by, a guess was hazarded that the beginning of the period may go back to *circa* 1100 B. C., with a probable margin on the earlier side (although admittedly there cannot be any direct equation between the thickness of the strata and the time taken for their deposition).

The foregoing dating appears to have been challenged by the ^{14}C dates which indicate a range from 570 ± 125 B. C. to 335 ± 115 B. C. for the upper levels of the period. On the basis of these ^{14}C dates, the beginning of Period II would appear to go back to *circa* eighth century B. C. That this may not really be the case is indicated by those very factors which we discussed above in connection with the dating of the N. B. P. Ware. Could Hastināpura alone have been a late island of the P. G. W. Ware, surviving up to the end of the fourth century B. C., when the ^{14}C dates in respect of the other sites in the region, for example Atranjīkherā, Ahichchhatrā, etc., show that this Ware overlapped with the N. B. P. Ware and came to an end latest by *c.* 500 B. C. The uncorrected dates for the overlap at Atranjīkherā are 555 ± 100 B. C. and 530 ± 85 B. C. and at Ahichchhatrā, 475 ± 110 B. C. At Rupnagar, there is a break of occupation

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1. *Antiquity*, XLIX, 1975, pp. 251-266

between the N. B. P. W. and P. G. W. Periods and the uncorrected date for an early level of the former is 485 $\pm$ 100 B. C. On the whole, therefore, the ^{14}C dates themselves do not uphold that the P. G. W. settlements may have continued into late fourth century B. C. The apprehension that at Hastināpura the mixing up of rootlets with the charcoal samples over the years may have resulted in making the ^{14}C dates younger seems to be supported by the foregoing analysis.

As to the beginning of the P. G. W. Culture, we have the following ^{14}C dates. From Noh came the dates of 725 $\pm$ 150 B. C. and 820 + 225 B. C. for the *middle* levels of the P. G. W. deposits, while from Atranjīkherā comes the date 1025 + 100 B. C., again for a *middle* level. Striking a balance, it is evident that the beginning of this culture, even on the basis of (uncorrected)—^{14}C dates may well go back to *circa* 1000 B. C., if not earlier.

Now when these very ^{14}C dates are reviewed in the light of Dr. Clark's correction, it is found that the calendar dates corresponding to the concerned ^{14}C dates, namely 725, 820, and 1025 B. C. are respectively 885, 970, and 1245 B. C.

From what has been discussed above, it would be seen that there is a good case for dating Period II at Hastināpura from *circa* 1100 to 800 B. C., with a probable margin on the earlier side.

In regard to the dating of Period I, all that was mentioned in the report (in 1952) was that it would be prior to 1200 B. C. That this is so is now upheld by the eight thermoluminiscence dates available for the Ochre Colour Ware from other sites, viz. Jhinjhanā, Nasirpur, Atranjīkherā and Lāl Qilā. Of these, three lie between 2650 and 2000 B. C., three between 2000 and 1500 B. C., and only two are in the neighbourhood of 1200 B. C. The short-lived settlement at Hastināpura may, therefore, have existed any time prior to 1200 B. C., perhaps between the limits of 2000 and 1500 B. C.

5. THE PAINTED GREY WARE SETTLEMENT AT HASTINĀPURA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

We now finally come to the crucial question, namely whether or not there was any basis for the *Mahābhārata* story and, if there was some, whether or not the Painted Grey Ware settlement at Hastināpura represents the archaeological counterpart.

Before we enter into this discussion it may be well worth while to recall very briefly the *Mahābhārata* story and the principal places associated with it. As is well known, Hastināpura was the capital of the Kauravas. Since there was an enmity between them and their cousins, the Pāṇḍavas, the former attempted to burn the latter alive in a lac-house at a place called Vārṇāvata, identified with modern Barnawā in Meerut District of U. P. During the course of their exile, the Pāṇḍavas stayed for some time at Virāṭa-

nagara, the capital of king Virāṭa, identified with Bairāṭ in eastern Rajasthan. The Pāṇḍavas asked for five villages to be given to them if the war was to be averted. The names of these villages vary from text to text, most of them, however, being common. The prevalent tradition puts them as Pāṇiprastha, Śoṇaprastha, Vṛkaprastha, Indraprastha and Tilaprastha, respectively modern Panipat, Sonipat (both in Haryana), Baghpat (U. P.), Indrapat (Delhi) and Tilpat (Haryana). When the Kauravas refused to surrender these villages, the war was fought at Kurukshetra (Haryana). Kṛṣṇa hailed from Mathurā (U. P.) while Draupadī, wife of the Pāṇḍavas, belonged to Kāmpilya, modern Kampil in District Farrukhabad (U. P.) There are several other places associated in one way or the other with the story.

It may now at once be stated that the Painted Grey Ware Culture of Period II at Hastināpura has been found at all the above-mentioned sites and wherever an excavation has been carried out or exposed vertical sections examined, this Culture occurs at the base.* Further, as seen earlier, the P. G. W. Culture in this area is ascribable to *c.* 1100-800 B. C., with a probable margin on the earlier side. These two facts establish that the sites associated with the *Mahābhārata* story, such as Hastināpura, Mathurā, Kurukshetra, etc., were culturally interlinked and that the period of this linkage was between *c.* 1100 and 800 B. C.

Are we then to suppose that the date of the *Mahābhārata* battle falls within this time-bracket? And, more relevant than the foregoing : what, indeed, is the basis to assume the historicity of the event ? Could it not have been a mere myth ? Answers to these questions are not easy to give. There is no contemporary inscription to establish the historicity of the episode. We may perhaps never come across any such inscription, for we are not certain if writing was known at that time. Or, if it was at all known, perishable materials might have been used. Under such circumstances, one has to weigh the available indirect or circumstantial evidence and judge for oneself what that evidence has to tell.

In this context, one is tempted to refer to the *Purāṇa*-s which not only give the genealogy of the rulers at Hastināpura after the *Mahābhārata* battle but also refer to a

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* The only exceptions known so far are Hastināpura and Ahichchhatrā where the Ochre Colour Ware underlies the P. C. Ware. This, however, need not upset us, for, in the first place, it is the P. G. W. that occurs at *all* the *Mahābhārata* sites, Secondly, and this is no less important a point, the sites yielding the Ochre Colour Ware Culture, such as Nasirpur, Bahadurubad, Jhīnjhanā, Atranjikehrā, Rajpur Parsu, Biṣauli, Lāl Qilā, Saipai etc.—to name just a few—*do not* find any mention in the Vedic literature early or late. It is, therefore, evident that the O. C. W. Culture has little to do with the Aryan tradition in genral and the Mahābhārata episode in particular.

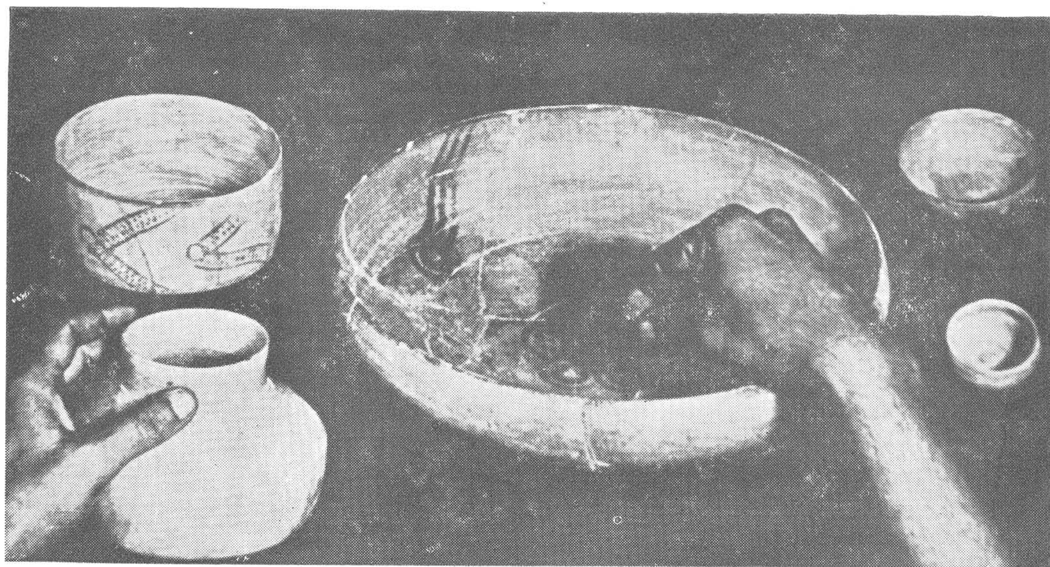


Plate 1. A Dinner-set of the Painted Grey ware

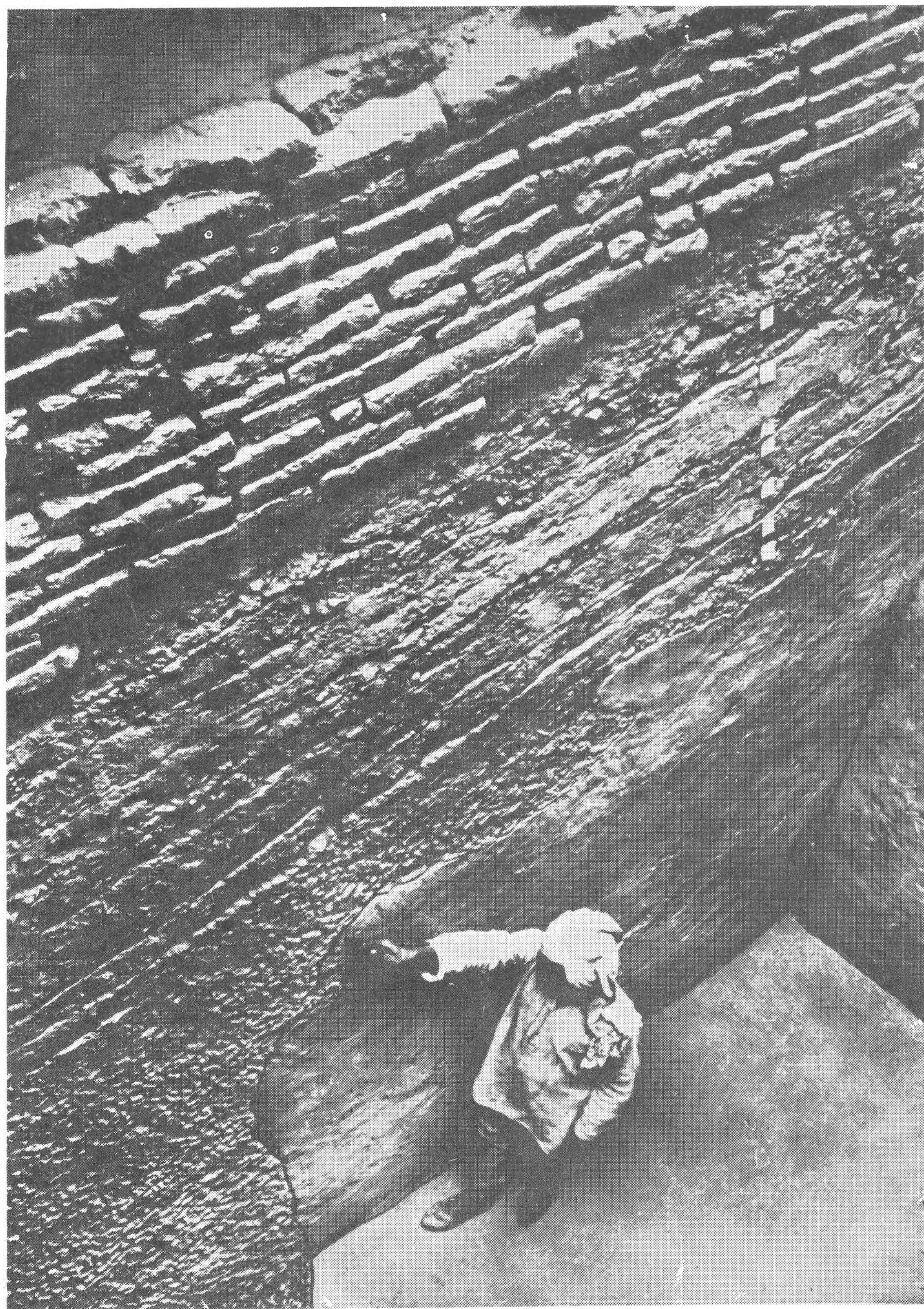


Plate II

The figure points to the erosional scar left by the flood in the Gaṅgā, which brought about the end of the Painted Greyware settlement at Hastinapura.

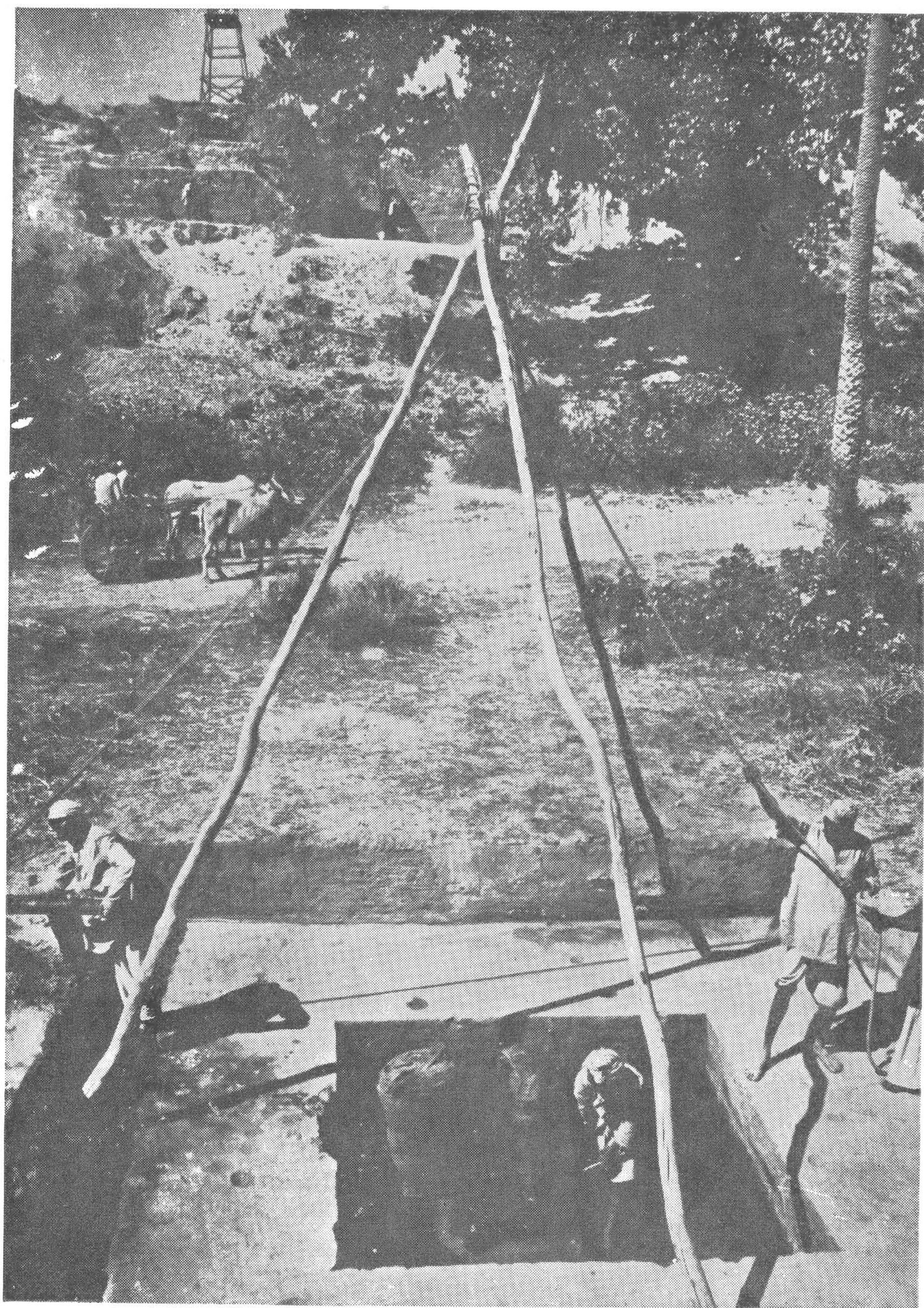


Plate III
A part of material that had been washed away by the flood was recovered from borings carried out in the bed of Gaṅgā.

very major catastrophe that overtook the site. It is mentioned therein that after Yudhiṣṭhira Parikṣit ascended the throne, and fifth in generation from him (i. e. Parikṣit) was Nichakṣu during whose time a great flood occurred in the Gaṅgā, washing away Hastināpura. Because of this devastation, Hastināpura had to be abandoned and the capital shifted to Kauśāmbī. The relevant portion of the text reads as follows :

"Gaṅgayāpahṛte tasmin nagare Nāgasāhvaye |
Tyaktvā Nichakṣur nagaram Kauśāmbyām sa nivatsyati" ||

Let us now see what archaeology has to say about the foregoing. As already mentioned earlier, towards the end of Period II at Hastināpura there occurred a heavy flood in the Gaṅgā, the evidence of which is available not only in the form of an erosional scar on the river-face of the mound but also in the discovery of a part of the eroded material from deep borings in the river-bed itself. As a result, the site had to be abandoned for quite some time. The evidence from Kauśāmbī (District Allahabad, U. P.) is equally interst-ing in this regard. Over there occurs a devolved stage of the Painted Grey Ware—the Ware becoming somewhat coarser and the designs less crisp and varied. May not one find in these two independent pieces of evidence, viz. the abandonment of the P. G. W. settlement at Hastināpura as a result of a flood in the Gaṅgā and the occurrence of a devolved form of the P. G. Ware at Kauśāmbī an echo of the above quoted Purāṇic verse ? After all, what more can archaeology offer, if corroboration through a contempo-rary inscription is difficult to be had for reasons already pointed out above ?

If then there is reason to believe that there was a kernel of truth in the *Mahābhārata* story (although a good deal of what appears in the now-available eleven-times inflated text is *prima facie* untenable), the next question would be : Is there an independent evi-dence to cross-check that the *Mahābhārata* episode may have taken place between *c.* 1100 and 800 B. C., the probable date of the Painted Grey Ware settlement at Hastinā-pura ?

In this connection one may resume the thread of the Purāṇic evidence referred to above. As already stated, the *Purāṇa*-s say that during the time of Nichakṣu the capital was shifted from Hastināpura to Kauśāmbī. Then these go on with the list of kings who ruled at the latter site. Amongst them comes the name of Udayana, as twenty-fifth from Parikṣit (both names included). Udayana was a contemporary of the Buddha, and since the latter died in 483 (or 487) B. C., it may be assumed that Udayana was ruling around 500 B. C. Now comes the most debatable part of the assessment, viz. the time that is likely to have elapsed between Parikṣit and Udayana. There being no other means of finding this out, one has to fall back upon a somewhat dubious method, viz. that of computing this duration on the basis of an average reign. In this regard various opinions exist and it is very difficult to say which one is right and which one is wrong and why,

But if known historical facts are any guide, one sees that from Qutubuddin Aibak, the first Muslim ruler of Delhi, to Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Muslim ruler ousted by the British, there were 47 kings and the total duration of their reigns was 652 years. This gives an average of 13.9 years per reign. However, it might be argued that during the medieval period there were many coups and killings for the throne and thus the average reign is likely to be low. But during the ancient period the position was no different, as shown by the fact that the well-known dynasties of that period, viz. the Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Kaṇvas, Sātavāhanas and Guptas, put together, also give an average in the neighbourhood of 14 years per reign.

Here attention may by drawn to another significant statement of the *Purāṇa*-s, viz. that *Nichakṣu's eight successors were his sons.* If that be so, the chronology will get further shortened, for the eight sons, ruling one after the other in succession, may not produce a total duration of even 112 years stipulated on the basis of 14 years per reign. The nine Nandas are said to have ruled for 100 years only.

From the foregoing discussion it would appear that the estimate of 14 years per reign may not be very much off the mark. If, however, giving some latitude on the higher side, we round off the figure to 15 years, the total duration of the rulers from Udayana back to Parikṣit would be $24 \times 15 = 360$ years. Adding this figure to 500 B. C., i. e. the time when Udayana is likely to have been ruling, we get 860 B. C. This is, however, not to say that the Mahābhārata battle was fought actually in 860 B. C. Far from it. The figure just gives an approximate bearing of the time of the event.

To sum up. The avaialable archaeological and literary evidences combine to suggest that in all probability there was a basis for the *Mahābhārata* story and that the event may have taken place some time in the ninth century B. C.

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Academic Qualifications : M. A. (Sanskrit-Prakrit) ; M. A. (Hindi), Ph. D., D. Litt.

Present Position : R. G. Bhandarkar Professor & Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Bombay.

Publications : 6 Books in English ; 2 in Marathi and over 125 papers.

Books :—

(1) *Critiques on Sanskrit Dramas.*
(2) *Legends in the Mahābhārata.*
(3) *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda.*
(4) *Vedic Concept of 'Field' and the Divine Fructification.*
(5) *Cultural Sources from the Veda.*
(6) *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual.*
(7) *Hindu Dharma āṇi Tattvajñāna.* (Maharashtra State Award; Poona University Chiplunkar Prize and N. C. Kelkar Prize of the Kesari-Maratha Trust, Poona) :
(8) *Asvatthacni Pane.* (Maharashtra State Award).

Other Distinctions : (1) Editor, Indian Section : Journal of Ultimate Reality & Meaning ; also Editor, Indian Section : Encyclopaedia of Human Ideas on Ultimate Reality & Meaning, Regis College, Ontario, Canada.
Contributory Editor to Hindi Encyclopaedia from Allahabad ; and Abhinava Marathi Jñānākosha, Kolhapur.

(2) President, Vedic Section, XXX Session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1980.

(3) Member, Council of Management of the Deccan College, Poona and Project Committee, Sanskrit Dictionary Project, Poona.

Present Address : 'Girnar', Gokhale Road, Mulund (E), Bombay-400 081.

13. Name : **Govind Vinayak Devasthali**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., B. T., Ph. D.

Present Position : Research Professor, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

Publications : (1) *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Bombay University Library*; (2) *Mīmāṃsā, the Vākyaśāstra of Ancient India*; (3) *Introduction to the Study of*—(a) *Viśākhadatta and his Mudrārākṣasa*; (b) *Śūdraka and his Mṛcchakaṭika*; (c) *Bāṇa and his Kādambarī*; (4) *Phiṭsūtra of Śāntanava*; (5) *Anubandhas of Pāṇini*; (6) *Alaṅkāratilaka of Bhānukara*; (7) *Vedavikṛtilakṣaṇa-saṅgraha*; (8) Śṛṅgārarasa-maṇḍana of Viṭṭhaleśa; 9. Svaramañjarī of Narasiṁha Sūri; 10. Many research Papers on Vedic, Grammar and Mīmāṃsā topics.

Other Distinctions :

1. President, Classical Section, All-India Oriental Conference (Bhubaneshwar).
2. President, Vedic Section, All-India Oriental Conference (Dharwar).
3. Member of the Executive Committee, All-India Oriental Conference for the last several years.
4. A Trustee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the last several years.
5. (Retired) Editor of the Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical Principles, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

Present Address : C/20, Jivhala, Sarvanand Society Lane 1, Shankar Nagar, 2, Pune-411 004.

14. (a) Name : **T. Y. Elizarenkova**

Academic Qualifications : Candidate philol.

Present Position : Research worker of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Publications : More than 80 (Vedic language, Pāli, History and Typology of the New Indo-Aryan languages, Hindī, Vedic mythology).

Present Address : USSR-125315, Moscow, ul, Sameda Vurguna, d. 5, RV. 49.

14. (b) Name : **V. N. Toporov**

Academic Qualifications : Candidate philol.

Present Position : Research worker of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Publications : More than 500 (Slavic and Baltic languages, Indo-European Comparative Linguistics, Sanskrit, Pāli, Comparative mythology, etc).

Present Address : USSR–125315, Moscow, ul. Sameda Vurguna, d. 5. RV. 49.

15. Name : **Jacob Ensink**

Academic Qualifications : Litt. dr. (Utrecht).

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit; Head of the Department of Indian Studies; Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Groningen University, Netherlands.

Publications :

1. The Question of Rāṣṭrapāla, translated and annotated.
2. Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia, (with, J. A. B. von Buitenen)
3. On the Old-Javanese Cantakaparwa and its tale of Sutasoma.
4. Rekhacarmma. On the Indonesian Shadow-Play with special reference to the Island of Bali.
5. Mitrasaha, Sudāsa's son, with the spotted feet.
6. Sutasoma's Teaching to Gajavaktra, the Snake and the Tigress.
7. Problems of the Study of Pilgrimage in India.
8. The Man-Eater Converted.
9. Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali.

Other Distinctions : Sammānya Pārishada, Akhila Bhāratiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (India)

Present Address : de Savornin Lohmanlaan 41, 9722 HC Groningen; The Netherlands.

16. Name : **Jan Gonda**

Academic Qualifications : Doctor Litt.

Present Position : Retired Professor of Sanskrit and Indology, Utrecht University, The Netherlands.

Publications : About six hundred including Books, Articles, Reviews etc.*

Other Distinctions : Member, Royal Dutch Academy.

Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Hony. fellow.

(a) Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

(b) Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

(c) Ganganatha Jha Oriental Research Institute, Allahabad.

(d) Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Etc.

Present Address : von Hogendorpstraat 13 Utrecht, The Netherlands.

17. Name : **Ram Gopal**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Kālidāsa Professor of Sanskrit & Head, Deptt. of Kālidāsa Chair in Sanskrit, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Publications :

1. India of Vedic Kalpa-Sūtras.
2. Vaidika Vyākaraṇa in two volumes.
3. Vaidika Vyākhyā Vivechana.
4. A Non-Legendary Interpretation of the Apālā-Sūkta (RV. VIII. 91).

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* For details refer to the Bibliography of Publications By J. Gonda compiled by G. Chemparathy in *India Maior*, Congratulatory Volume presented to Prof. J. Gonda, Edited by Prof. J. Ensink and Prof. P. Gaeffke, Leiden, 1972; pp. 1-40.

5. Vedic Exegesis : A Comparative Study of Ancient and Western Methods.
6. Vedic Sources of the Śāraṅgaka Legend of the Mahābhārata.
7. Refutation of T. Burrow's Thoery on the Significance of Arma and Armaka.

Besides, over 30 research papers on various aspects of Vedic Language, Literature and Culture.

Other Distinctions :
(i) Awarded Independence Day Literary Award, "Certificate of Honour in Sanskrit", by the President of India in 1971.
(ii) Awarded Haryana State Literacy Award in Sanskrit in 1971.
(iii) President of the Vedic Section of All-India Oriental Conference at its XXIII (Aligarh) Session.

Present Address : F-5, Sector 14, University Campus, Chandigarh–160 014.

18. Name : **Chintamani Ganesh Kashikar**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., D. Litt.

Present Position : Editor, Sanskrit Dictionary Department.

Publications :
(i) Ṛgvedakālina Sānskṛtika Itihāsa (Marathi).
(ii) Ṛgveda Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's commentary (Vols. II-V edited in collaboration.)
(iii) Śrautakośa Vol. I-II (Sanskrit and English in collaboration).
(iv) Sūtras of Bharadvāja Parts I-II (Text & Translation).
(v) Āyurvedīya Padārthavijñāna (Sanskrit & English, in collaboration).
(vi) Indian Medicine (Translated from German).
(vii) A Survey of the Śrautasūtras.
(viii) Vaidika Saṁskṛtīche Pailū (Marathi).
(ix) Bhāratīya Vanaspatīnchā Itihāsa (Marathi).
(x) Vedaśāstrottejaka Sabhā : Śata-Sāmvatsarika Itihāsa (Marathi).

(xi) Śrauta Dharmāchī Svarūpa-chikitsā (Marathi).

(xii) Prācīna Bhāratīya Vidyache Punardarśana (Marathi, edited in collaboration).

Other Distinctions : (i) President, Vedic Section, All-India Oriental Conference, XXIV Session, Varanasi 1968.

(ii) Deputised by the Govt. of India, Ministry of Education to attend the International Sanskrit Conference, Berlin 1975.

(iii) Member, Executive Board, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

Present Address : Deccan College, Pune–411 006.

19. Name : **Madhukar Anant Mehendale**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Joint-General Editor, Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles.

Publications :

1. Ashokan Inscriptions in India.
2. Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits.
3. Nirukta Notes Series I and II.
4. Some aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics.
5. Ṛgveda Saṁhitākāra and Father Esteller : (in Marathi).
6. Questions and Answeres in the Vedic Literature (in Marathi).
7. Prof. Luders' Views on Varuṇa (in Marathi).
8. Number of Research Papers and Reviews in Various Journals and Special Volumes.

Other Distinctions :

1. Sectional President—Indian Linguistics Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1955.
2. Sectional President, Vedic Section of the All-India Oriental Conference 1974.
3. Maharashtra State Award to Teachers (University Level), 1976.

Present Address : Deccan College, Pune–411 006.

20. Name : **Narendra Pratap Srivastava**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.

Present Position : Librarian,
Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad,
Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Hazratganj,
Lucknow-226 001.

Publications :

1. Essays (Numbering 14) regarding etymology of words.
2. An essay regarding Importance of Democracy in Ancient India.
3. Sanskrit short stories (numbering 3) and hundreds of other Hindi essays, poems and short-stories.

Present Address : Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad,
Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Hazratganj,
Lucknow-226 001.

21. Name : **Satya Vrat Singh**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.

Present Position : Retired Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University, Lucknow; formerly Vice-Chancellor, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi; Director of Research, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Publications :

1. *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta with Sanskrit and Hindi Commentaries.
2. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanatha, Hindi Exposition.
3. *Kāvya Prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, Hindi Exposition .
4. Vedanta Deśika : A Study of his life and Works.
5. Several other books and research articles.

Other Distinctions : Visiting Professor of several Universities and President and Vice-President, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Present Address : Bhavani Vihar, Model Houses, Lucknow—226 001

SECTION III

DHARMAŚĀSTRA, STATE AND GOVERNMENT

22. Name : **Krishna Mohan Agrawal**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Head, Department of Sanskrit, Rajendra College, Chhapra, Bihar.

Present Address : Head, Department of Sanskrit, Rajendra College, Chhapra, Bihar.

23. (a) Name : **G. M. Bongard-Levin**

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Chief, Department of the Ancient Oriental Culture, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR.

Publications :
1. Studies in Ancient India and Central Asia, Calcutta.
2. Kuṇāla Legend, Calcutta.
3. Mauryan India, Moscow, (now also publishing from India).

Besides, several books on Indology and over 100 articles.

Other Distinctions Winner of the Nehru Award; Vice-President, International Association of Sanskrit Studies.

Present Address : 12, Zhdanova Street, Moscow, USSR.

23. (b) Name : **A. A. Vigasin**

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D.

Present Position : Asstt. Professor, Faculty of History, Moscow State University.

Publications : More than 20 articles on Ancient India, mainly on the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra.

Present Address : Leninskiye Gory, Faculty of History, Moscow, USSR.

24. Name : **Ram Mohan Das**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Reader in Sanskrit, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, Bihar.

Publications :
1. Women in Manu and his Seven Commentators.
2. Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka (Hindi translation with a Critical Introduction).
3. Crime and Punishment in Ancient India, with particular reference to the Manusmṛti.
4. Images in Vālmīki (In the Press).
5. Several articles in Research Journals.

Present Address : Reader in Sanskrit,
Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, Bihar.

25. Name : **John Duncan Martin Derrett**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Present Position : Professor of Oriental Laws in the University of London and Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion, Oxford.

Publications :
1. Introductions to Modern Hindu Law.
2. Religion, Law and the State in India.
3. Essays on Classical and Modern Hindu Law.
4. Death of a Marriage Law.

Other Distinctions : Tagore Professor of Law, Calcutta, 1953.

Present Address : Halfway House, High St. Blockley, Gloss GL 56 9EX, England.

26. (a) Name : **Eva Ritschl**

Academic Qualifications : Dr. Phil.

Present Position : Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR.

Publications :
1. Die Yogayātra des Varāhamihira und ihr Verhältnis zur

Arthaśāstra—Tradition, in: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität, Berlin 3, 1976, 361-362.

2. The Role of the Village Community in Ancient Indian History, in: Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin Vol. 42, Bruxelles, in print.
3. Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Unberührbarkeit in Indien, in: Sammelband "Probleme der indischen Geshichte" Moskau und Berlin, in print.
4. Prakṛtikopa, janapadakopa—Formen sozialer und politischer Auseinandersetzungen in der altindischen Gesellschaft, in: Tagungsband der IV. Weltsanskritkonferenz in Weimar 1979, Berlin, in print.
5. Brahmanische Bauern. Zur Theorie und Praxis der brahmanischen Ständeordnung im alten Indien, in: AOF VII, 1980, 177-187.
6. Zur Entwicklung des dharma-Begriffs in der brahmanischen Tradition, in: Sitzungsberichte der Academie der Wissenschaften der DDR, gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Klasse, in print.
7. Zur Entstehung des klassischen indischen Dramas, in: Das Altertum, in print.
8. Nirvasana, in: Indologica Taurinensia, Festschrift für L. Sternbach, in print.

Present Address : 1162, Berlin, Drachhobfstrasse 1, DDR.

26. (b) Name : **Maria Schetelich**

Academic Qualifications : Dr. Phil.

Present Position : Wissenschaflicher Mitarbeiter, Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR.

Publications :

1. O nekotorych terminach opredeljajuscichsja otnosenija zavisimosti v "Artchasastre" in Ocerki ekonomiceskoj i sozialnoj istorii Indii, Moskva 1973, S. 46-56.
2. asvatantra in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur, in: AOF V, 113-23.
3. Zu den landwirtschaftlichen Kenntnissen der vedischen Arya,

in: Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift Nr. 18/1977, 207-218.

4. Feudals in der Yājñavalkyasmṛti? (Zur Interpretation von Yājñ. 2.157-58), in : AOF VII, 1980, 163-168.
5. Frühe Formen des Grundeigentums in Indien—urvarā und kṣetra im Ṛgveda, in : Tagungsband der IV. Weltsanskrit-konferenz in Weimar 1979, Berlin, in print.
6. Die Widerspiegelung dorfgemeindlicher Verhältnisse in der Artha-und Dharmaliteratur, in: Samelband 'Probleme der indischen Geschichte'', Moskau und Berlin, in print.
7. Der Weg zur Konsolodierung des brāhmaṇavarṇa als oberster Stand der altindischen Gesellschaft, in : Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, gesellschaftswissen-schaftliche Klasse, in print.
8. Zu den Anfängen altindischer Staatslehre, in: Indologica Taurinensia, Festschrift für L. Sternbach, in print.
9. Der Begriff bhoga im altindischen Recht, in: Festschrift für W. Sellnow, Berlin, in print.

Joint Publications : E. Ritschl and M. Schetelich :

1. Zu einigen Problemes der Eigentumsverhältnisse (speziell an Grund und Boden) im Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung XI, 2, 1966, 301-337.
2. Studien zum Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 9, Berlin 1973.
3. Kuṭumbin und kuṭumbiko—zum Inhalt dieser Begriffe und zur Stellung ihter Träger in der altindischen Gesellschaft, in: Altorientalische Forschungen(AOF) IV, 1976, 207-230.
4. Die fünfundzwanzig Erzählungen des Totendämons, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Nachwort und Anmerkungen versehen. Leipzig 1979.

Present Address : 1162, Berlin, Drachhobfstrasse 1, DDR.

27. Name : **Ludo Rocher**

Academic Qualifications : Dr. Jur., Ph.D.

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit, University of Pennsylvania.

Publications :	Ed. Vācaspatimiśra's Vyavahāracintāmaṇi ed. Gaṅgāditya's Smṛticintāmaṇi; Manual of Modern Hindi; transl. Premchand's short stories (into Dutch); Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo's Dissertation on the Sanskrit Language. Over 100 articles on various indological subjects.
Present Address :	Department of Oriental Studies 847 Williams Hall CU University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.
28. Name :	**A Samozvantsev**
Academic Qualifications :	Ph.D.
Present Position :	Working in Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow.
Publications :	Several Books on Ancient Indian Law.
Present Address :	Institute of Oriental Studies, 12 Zhdanova, Moscow, USSR.

SECTION IV

LITERATURE

29. Name : **Pratap Bandyopadhyay**

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Canada), Diploma in German (Cal.)

Present Position : Reader in Sanskrit, University of Burdwan, W. Bengal.

Publications : *Observations on Similes in the Naiṣadhacarita.*
Ten Research Papers in different Journals and Felicitation/Commemoration Volumes and Six Book Reviews in the Journal of American Oriental Society.

Other Distinctions : Participated in some Fifteen Oriental and Sanskrit, Conferences in India; North America, Australia and Europe.
Member, American Oriental Society, U. S. A. and Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta; Life Member, All-India Oriental Conference, Poona and Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Present Address : (i) 6/C, Cornfield Road, 'Namita Smriti', Calcutta-700019.
(ii) University Teachers' Qrs. I-5, Chandan Dighir Par, Tarabag, Burdwan-713104 W.B.

30. Name : **Heinz Bechert**

Academic Qualifications : Dr. Phil.

Present Position : Professor of Indian and Buddhist Studies, University of Goettingen.

Publications : Many Publications in the fields of Sanskrit and Buddhist Studies.

Other Distinctions : Member of the Academy of Sciences in Goettingen.

Present Address : Jupiterweg 11, D-3400 Goettingen, F. R. Germany.

31. Name : **Siddheshwar Chattopadhyaya**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., Kāvyatīrtha.

Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Burdwan University, Burdwan (West Bengal).

Publications :

1. Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakoṣa in the perspective of Ancient Indian Drama and Dramaturgy.
2. Critical Edition of the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakoṣa with Bengali translation and elaborate Notes.
3. Sanskrit One Act Plays :
   (a) Atha Kim. (b) Dharitrīpatinīrvācanam.
   (c) Nanāvitaraṇam. (d) Svargīyahasanam.
4. Numerous articles on Sanskrit Literature, Art and Ancient Indian History published in Research Journals.

Other Distinctions : Vice-President (and Ex-Secretary) Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣat, Calcutta ; Member of the Asiatic, Society, Calcutta ; President, *Maulika*, a Drama Unit, Burdwan.

Present Address : University Teachers' Quarters, A/3, Tarabagh, P. O. and Distt. Burdwan (West Bengal).

32. Name : **Jean Filliozat**

Present Position : Founder and Former Director of Institut Français d' Indologie, Pondicherry.

Publications : Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine Inde, Nation and Tradition Relations extérieures de l'Inde Laghuprabandhāḥ etc.

Other Distinctions : Member of the Institut de France, Vice-President, IASS.

Present Address : 35,rue Fraçais–Rolland, 94130 Nogent 5 Marue, France.

33. Name : **Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat**

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris.

Publications : Many on Sanskrit Literature.

Present Address ; French Institute, Pondichery.

34. Name : **Vasundhara Filliozat**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Researcher in Indian History.

Publications : Many on Vijaynagara History.

Present Address : P. B. 33. Pondichery.

35. Name : **Dharmendra Kumar Gupta**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., Shastri, Vidyāvāchaspati.

Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit and Pāli, Panjabi University, Patiala.

Publications : (1) *A Critical Study of Daṇḍin and His Works.*
(2) *Society and Culture in the Time of Daṇḍin.*
(3) Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, ed. with Sanskrit Comm. and Hindi exposition. (4)Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattam*, ed. with comm. and notes. (5) *Sarojinī*, a Sanskrit text-book, (6) *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, Punjabi trans. Besides, about 25 papers and 30 articles on Indolcgical topics.

Other Distinctions : (1) Member, Editorial Board, *Journal of Religious Studies*, Punjabi Uuiversity, Patiala (2) Research works reviewed in national and international journals of repute, and highly admired.

Present Address : Dept. of Sanskrit and Pāli, Panjabi University, Patiala.

36. Name : **Christiaan Hooykaas**

Academic Qualifications : litt. dr. (Leiden).

Present Position : Deceased.

Publications :

1. The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin with Special Reference to the Problem of Interpolation in Kakawins.
2. The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, an Exemplary Kakawin as to Form and Content.
3. Āgama Tīrtha. Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion.
4. Sūrya-Sevana, the Way to God of a Balinese Śiva Priest.
5. Bagus Umbara.
6. Stuti and Stava (Bauddha, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava) of Balinese Brahman Priests (with T. Goudriaan).

7. Kāma and Kālā. Materials for the study of shadow theatre in Bali.
8. Balinese Bauddha Brahmans.
9. Religion in Bali.
10. Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition.
11. A Balinese Temple Festival.
12. The Balinese Poem Basur.*

Other Distinctions : Sometime corresponding member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences.

37. Name : **S. G. Kantawala**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., Certificate in Linguistics (Advanced Course); Certificate in French; Certificate in German (M. S. University, Baroda).

Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390002.

Publications :
1. Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa.
2. Several Research papers in various research journals, Felicitation volumes and Commemoration volumes and several reviews in research journals.

Other Distinctions : S. Suryanarayana Shastri Memorial Prize (All-India Philosophical Congress).
Commonwealth Scholarship.

Present Address : "Shri Ram", Kantareshwar Mahadeo's Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390001, (Gujarat).

38. Name : **K. Krishnamoorthy**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Dept. of Studies in Sanskrit; Dean, Faculty of Arts; Karnatak University Dharwar.

Publications :
1. *Dhvanyāloka and Its Critics.*
2. *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism.*

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* Also see H. I. R. Hinzler. Bibliography C. Hooykaas. In : Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde 136 (1980), pp. 207-214 (over 120 titles except reviews and newspaper articles).

3. Critical Edn. of *Dhvanyāloka* with Complete English Translation and Notes.
4. Critical Edn. of *Vakroktijīvita* with Complete English Translation and Notes.
5. *Kālidāsa* (Twayne Publishers, New York).
6. *Studies in Sanskrit Aesthetics.*
7. Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi*, Edn. etc.

Over 200 articles in learned journals.

Other Distinctions : Recipient of President's Certificate of Honour for outstanding work in Sanskrit.

Present Address : Saptapur, Dharwad-1.

39. Name : **J. Moussaieff Masson**

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D.

Present Positson : Professor of Sanskrit, University of Toronto.

Publications :

1. Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics.
2. Avimāraka.
3. Aesthetic Rapture.
5. Sanskrit Love Poetry.

Present Address : Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, California, 94720 (USA).

40. Name : **Sheldon Pollock**

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D.

Present Position : Associate Professor, The University of Iowa (USA).

Publications : *Aspects of Versification in Sanskrit Lyric Poetry.* Annotated translations of Vols. II and III of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa will be published by Princeton University Press.

Present Address : Associate Professor, The University of Iowa (USA).

41. Name : **Marie-Claude Porcher**

Academic Qualifications : Docteur D' etat ès Lettres et Sciences Humaines.

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit (Language and literature) at the University of the Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III)

Publications :

1. *Viśvaguṇādarśacampū* of Veṅkaṭādhvarin, introduction, traduction et notes.
2. *Rāghavayādavīya* of Veṇkaṭādhvarin, introduction, traduction et notes.
3. *Figures de style en sanskrit*, Théories des alaṃkāraśāstra, études de poèmes de Veṅkaṭādhvarin.

Several articles in different Research Journals (Journal Asiatique, Poétique etc).

Other Distinctions : Agrégation de Lettres classiques.

Present Address : IO rue du Docteur Roux, 75015, Paris.

42. Name : **Saveros Pou**

Academic Qualifications : Licencié ès Letteres (Paris).

Docteur de 3è cycle (Paris).

Docteure ès Letteres (Paris).

Present Position : Member of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

Publications : Over 50 articles in various Research Journals.

Present Address : 19, Henconner Avenue, Leeds LS7 3NW, Great Britain.

43. Name : **Alix Raison**

Present Position : Member of Ecole française d'Extrême-oriént.

Publications : la Hārītasaṃhitā, texte médical sanskrit avic un index de nomenclature āyurvédique.

Present Address : Institut Français d'Indologie, PB 33, Pondichery-605 001.

44. Name : **K. Kunjunni Raja**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D. (Madras), Ph.D. (London).

Present Position : Hony. Director, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras.

Publications :
1. Indian Theories of Meaning.
2. Contributions of Kerala to Sanskrits Literature.
3. New Catalogus Catalogorum (Vol. III-V : Associate Editor; Vol. VI-X : Chief Editor).

Other Distinctions : Retired Professor and Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras.

Present Address : Hony. Director, Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras.

45. Name : **Walter Ruben**

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D.

Present Position : Retired Professor of Indology, The Humboldt University, Berlin, (G.D.R.)

Publications : Several Books and Articles published in various Research Journals.

Other Distinctions : Professor Emeritus, The Humboldt University, Berlin,

Present Address : 118, Berlin, Rabindra Tagore Street 23 (GDR).

46. Name : **Ranajit Sarkar**

Academic Qualifications : Docteur-ès-lettres.

Present Position : Senior Lecturer at the State University of Groningen, The Netherlands.

Publications :
1. Gītagovinda : towards a total understanding.
2. La Poétique de Sri Aurobindo et ses rapports avec les littératures occidentales, (thesis, University of Aix-en-Provence, France.

Present Address : Gaickingahof 1, Zuidhorn. 9801 EB, The Netherlands.

47. Name : **Mukunda Madhava Sharma**

Academic Qualifications : M.A. Ph.D., D. Litt., Kāvyatīrtha.

Present Position : Professor and Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Gauhati University, Gauhati, Assam.

Publications : 21 Books
33 Research Papers.
7 Book-Reviews in Research Journals.
52 Learned articles in Sanskrit/English/Assamese/Hindi/Bengali.

More Important Books are :

1. Assamese For All.
2. Karpūramañjarī.
3. The Dhvani Theory in Sanskrit Poetics.
4. Assamese Lessons.
5. Upamā Kālidāsasya.
6. Svapnavāsavadatta.
7. Dhvani Aru Rasatattva.
8. Inscriptions of Ancient Assam.
9. Vyañjanāprapañcasamīkṣā.

Other Distinctions : Attended Fourth World Sanskrit Conference at Weimar, G.D.R., as one of the 4-member official delegation of the Govt. of India in May, 1979.

Present Address : 32, Gauhati University, Gauhati-781014, Assam (India).

48. Name : **Eugeniusz Sluszkiewicz**

Academic Qualifications : D. Litt.

Present Position : Professor Emeritus.

Publications : About 300.

Other Distinctions : Hony. Member of the Polish Oriental Society;
Hony. Member of the Polish Linguistic Society.

Present Address : 87-100 Torun, Konopnickiej 2015, Poland.

49. Name : **Ram Narain Tripathi**

Academic Qualifications : M.A. ; Vyākaraṇa-Vedānta-Dharmaśāstrāchārya.

Present Position : Head, Oriental Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

Publications :
1. *Ṛtuvilāsaḥ.*
2. *Śaśikalā.*
3. Sanskrit-Adhyāpana-Vidhi.
4. Svapnavimarśaḥ.

Several articles in Sanskrit and Hindi in various Research Journals.

Other Distinctions : Co-Editor, Ajasrā, a Quarterly Sanskrit Magazine.

Present Address : Mirzabagh, Chandralok Colony, Lucknow.

50. Name : **Shridhar Bhaskar Warnekar**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D. Litt.

Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Nagpur University (Retd.)

Publications :

१. अर्वाचीन संस्कृत-साहित्य

२. मन्दोर्मिमाला:

३. महाभारतसार:

४. महाभारतकथा:

५. संस्कृतनाट्यप्रवेशा:

६. प्रश्नावलीविमर्श:

७. जवाहरतरङ्गिणी (भारतरत्नशतकम्)

८. विनायकवैजयन्ती (स्वातंत्र्यवीरशतकम्)

९. कालिदासरहस्यम् (शतकम्)

१०. रामकृष्णपरमहंसीयम् (शतकम्)

११. वात्सल्यरसायनम् (शतकम्)

१२. शिवराज्योदयम् (महाकाव्यम्)

१३. विवेकानन्दविजयम् (महानाटकम्)

१४. अभंग धर्मपद

१५. सुबोध ज्ञानेश्वरी

१६. भारतीय विद्या

१७. भारतीय धर्म व तत्वज्ञान

१८. परोक्षपाणिनीय

१९. फ्रेंच-गीतानुवाद

२०. संशोधन लेखमाला

२१. श्रमगीता

२२. शिवराज्ञाभिषकं नाटकम्

२३. श्रीरामसङ्गीतिका:

२४. श्रीकृष्णसङ्गीतिका:

२५. गीर्वाणगीतार्चना

२६. संघगीता

Other Distinctions : All India Organising Secretary of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad. 1955-56.

Honorary Professor of the 'Sanskrit Vishva Parishad' for Madhya Pradesh 1952-55.

Organiser and Examiner of the All India Sanskrit Story Competition, in the year 1953 sponsored by U. N. E. S. C. O.

Editor, 'Sanskrit-Bhavitavyam' (a Sanskrit weekly 1950-56).

Secretary of the classical Sanskrit Section of the Nagpur session of the All India Oriental Conference.

Secretary of the Sanskrit Section of the Nagpur session of the All India Educational Conference.

Secretary of the All India Session of the Nagpur session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad.

Joint Secretary of the Sanskrit Bhasha Pracharini Sabha, Nagpur, 1950 to 1956.

President-Maharashtra Sanskrit Parishad.

President-Bhosala Veda Shastra Mahavidyalaya, Nagpur,

President-Yogabhyasi Mandal, Nagpur.

Editor, Yoga-Prakash (A Marathi Monthly about Yoga).

Member 'Vidvat Parishad' of the Vishva Hindu Parishad.

Life Member of the All India Oriental Conference.

Vice-President-Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Samiti for Maharashtra State.

President, Silver Jubilee Sanskrit Sammelan-Swadhyaya Mandal, 1957.

President, Utkal Sanskrit Parishad, 1958.

President Keraleeya Sanskrit Parishad, 1967.

Member, General Council of Sahitya Akademi, India.

Chairman, Manuscript Department, Nagpur University.

SECTION V

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

51. Name : **K. A. Subramania Iyer**

Academic Qualifications : M. A. (London)
Diploma d'eludes Universitaires (Paris)

Present Position : Deceased.

Publications :

1. Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, critically edited and translated into English
2. Bhartṛhari : A Study
3. Sphoṭasiddhi

Contributed in various Research Journals and was associated as an Editor with all the research publications of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Other Distinctions : Formerly Professor and Head, Dept. of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.
Formerly Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University and Sanskrit University, Varanasi.
Vice-President of the XXIX Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Pune. Elected President of the XXX Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Vishwabharati University, Shantiniketan (but could not preside due to his sudden demise)
Founder-President and Director of Research of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow,

52. Name :	**Anukul Chandra Banerjee**
Academic Qualifications :	M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.
Present Position :	Formerly Professer and Head of the Department of Pāli, Calcutta University.
Publications :	Number of books on Buddhism—three of the most representative works are : 1. Sarvāstivāda Literature. 2. Buddhism in India and abroad. 3. Studies in Chinese Buddhism. More than 100 papers published in various Research Journals.
Other Distinctions :	Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, London ; Principal Khudiram Bose Lecturer of the Calcutta University, 1974 Adharchandra Mukherjee Lecturer of Calcutta Univ., 1975.
Present Address :	51/B, Bidyayatana Sarani, Calcutta-700035
53. Name :	**Biswanath Banerjee**
Academic Qualifications :	M. A. (Sanskrit & Pāli), Dr. Phil (Munich) Kāvyātīrtha
Present Position :	Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit Visvabharati University, Shantiniketan (W. Bengal)
Publications :	1. The Laghu-Kālacakra-tantra and its Commentary. 2. History of Pāli and Prakrit Literatures. Number of articles on Buddhism and Sanskrit and Pāli Literature.
Other Distinctions	Formerly, Philological Secy., The Asiatic Society, Calcutta. President, Pali & Buddhism Section, Silver Jubilee Session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1969. Member, Organising Committee & Academic Sub-committee, International Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi 1972. Member, Academic Council, Rashtriya Sanskrit Saṃsthana. Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland. Member, General Body, Rashtriya Sanskrit Saṃsthana. Honorary Joint Director, *Critical Pāli Dictionary Project* Centre in India to collaborate with Royal Danish Academy. Honorary Joint Director, UNESCO project on the Buddhist Tantrayāna art, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

	Member, Consultative Committee for the UNESCO projects on trends of literary & philosophical currents in Central Asia (Govt. of India, A. M. University and Asiatic Society).
Present Address:	Nichu Bungalow, Visvabharati University, Shantiniketan.

54. Name:	**Andre Bareau**
Academic Qualifications:	Doctor of Letters (Paris)
Present Position:	Professor of Studies of Buddhism, College de France, Paris.
Publications:	Numerous, the most important ones being: "Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule"; "Recherches sur la biographie du Bouddha", three volumes (1963, 1970, 1971).
Present Address:	15 bd Colbert, Sceaux (France).

55. Name:	**Kamaleswar Bhattacharya**
Academic Qualifications:	M. A., Docteur ès Lettres (Paris)
Present Position:	Professor
Publications:	1. Les Religions brahmaniques dans l'ancion Cambodge, d'aprés l'épigraphie et l'iconographie. 2. Rechencher sub le vocabulaire des inscription Sanskrites du Cambodge. 3. L'Ātman-Brahman dans le Bouddhisme ancien. 4. The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna. Numerous articles in various scientific periodicals, e. g. Journal Asiatique, Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrém.-Orient, Arts asiatiques, Artibus Asiae, Indologica Taurinensia, Journal of Indian Philosophy (Dordrecht, Holland), Journal of Indo-European Studies (USA), Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Other distinctions:	Member of the Socièti Asiatique, Paris, since 1956. Member of the American Oriental Society, since 1968. President of the section "South and Southeast Asia VIII. Literature", at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society at Cornall Univ. (Ithaca, N. Y.) in 1977. Visiting Professor, University of Toronto 1977, 1977.
Present Address:	23 Clos Baron, 78112 Fourquenx (France).

56. Name : **Ram Shankar Bhattacharya**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D., Vyākaraṇāchārya

Publications : 1. पातञ्जलयोगदर्शनम् सभूमिकम् ; 2. इतिहास पुराण का अनुशीलन ; 3. अग्निपुराणानुक्रमणी सभूमिका ; 4. योगसूत्र-भोजवृत्तिः ; 5. साङ्ख्यसूत्र-अनिरुद्धवृत्तिः ; 6. गरुडपुराणम् सभूमिकम् ; 7. पुराणगत वेदविषयक सामग्री का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन ; 8. पाणिनीय व्याकरण का अनुशीलन ; 9. सभाष्यसाङ्ख्यसूत्रस्य टीका ; 10. साङ्ख्यसारः सटीकः ; 11. निद्रायाः सुषुप्तिः ; 12. तन्मात्र तथा विश्व का मनोमय मूल ; 13. साङ्ख्यकारिका की ज्योतिष्मती टीका ; 14. कूर्मपुराण with an Introduction; 15. धारणासूत्रम् ।

Number of articles in various Research Journals.
Co-Editor of the *Encyclopaedia* of *Indian Philosophies* (Volumes on Sāṅkhya and Yoga)

Present Address : Vil. & P. O. Bhattapara,
Via—Beliatore,
Distt. Bankura (West Bengal)

57. Name : **Lokesh Chandra**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., D. Litt.

Present Position : Director, International Academy of Indian Culture.

Publications : Over 200

Other Distinctions : Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow; Member of the Korosi Csoxia Society, Budapest.

Present Address : J 22, Hauzkhas, New Delhi 220016

58. Name : **A. M. Esnoul**

Academic Qualifications : D'rs Oriental Philosphy

Present Position : Directeur d'Etudes honraire l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

Publications : les Strophes du Sānkhya rou le Commentaire de Gauḍapāda (Belles Letters)
l' Hindouisme (Fayard)
Nārāyaṇa Parvan du Mahābhārata (Belles Letters)

Present Address : 18 rue, Ferdinand Duval 75004, Paris.

59. Name : **Giulio Cogni**

Academic Qualifications : Qualified University Teacher (Philosophy)

Present Position : Retired

Publications : Number of Books and articles in various Research Journals.*

Present Address : 53100, Siena, Via delle Ceschina 21, Italy

60. Name : **Anand Swarup Gupta**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Shastri

Present Position : Assistant Director, Purāṇa Deptt., All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi. Editor in Charge, *Purāṇa* Bulletin

Publications :

1. *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* of Bhavabhūti, (Edited with Introduction, Footnotes, Sanskrit Commentary, Hindi Translation, Grammatical and Critical Notes, Appendices etc.)
2. *A Sanskrit Grammar.*
3. Critical Edition of the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, with Introduction and Appendices of research value.

Critical Edition of the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, with Introduction and Appendices.

Critical Edition of the *Varāha-purāṇa*. (In press)

Purāṇa Bulletin, a half-yeary Research Journal solely devoted to the Purāṇic studies and research, being regularly published in Jan. and July since 1959, All-India Kashiraj Trust. About 50 articles published in various Research Journals.

Present Address : Purāṇa Department, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi, U. P., India.

61. Name : **Wilhelm Halbfass**

Academic Qualifications : Ph. D.

Present Position : Associate Professor of Indian Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U. S. A.

Publications : Descartes' Frage nach der Existenz der Welt; Zur Theorie der Kastenordnung in der indischen Philosophie; Indien

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* For details see *Io sono Te*, Ceschina, 1970

und Europa; Numerous contributions to scholarly journals, encyclopaedias, felicitation volumes, etc.

Other Distinctions : Visiting Professor of Indology, University of Münster, W. Germany; other teaching assignments in Germany and Canada.

Present Address : Oriental Studies
847, Williams Hall CU
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa. 19174, U. S. A.

62. Name : **Mislav Jezic**

Academic Qualifications : Graduate in Indology, Philosophy, Linguistics and Old Greek Philology

Present Position : Assistant Professor at the Department of Indology, University of Zagreb, 41000 Zagreb, Djure Salaja 3, Yugoslavia.

Publications : (In Serbo-Croat Language) :

1. Reading of A Classical Indian Text (with translation of the Ist Chapter from Daṇḍin's : Daśakumāracarita), in FORUM (Journal of The Yougoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts), no XII 1975, Zagreb.
2. The Ṛgvedic Hymns in the Light of Sacrifice, in KNJIŽEVNA SMOTRA (A World Literary Review), no. VII 1976, Zagreb.
3. The Similarities and Differences between the Vedic Hymns and the Hellenic Mythical Poetry, in LATINA ET GRAECA (Latin and Greek Literary Review), no 10, 1977, Zagreb.
4. Parmenid : On Nature (Introduction, Translation and Study), in LATINA ET GRAECA (Latin and Greek Literary Review), no. 12, 1978 Zagreb.
5. The Ṛgvedic Hymns and European Tradition, in ZBORNIK III PROGRAMA RADIO ZAGREBA (The Journal of the Cultural Programme of Radio Zagreb), no, 2, 1978, Zagreb,

6. A Selection from the Amarū-śataka (Introduction and Translation), in KNJIŽEVNA SMOTRA (A World Literary Review), no. X, 1978, Zagreb.
7. Hindi Modal Verbs and the Auxilliary Verb within the Verb System, in SUVREMENA LINGVISTIKA (Contemporary Linguistics), no. 17-18, 1979, Zagreb.

(In English) :

8. Some Thoughts comparing Ṛgvedic and Hellenic Myths, read at the IIIrd World Sanskrit Conference, Paris, 1977 (to be published in the relevant Conference journal)
9. The Layers of the Bhagavadgītā as Traces of Indian Cultural History, read at the IVth World Sanskrit Conference, Weimar, 1979 (to be published in the relevant Conference journal)

Present Address : Martićeva 14 f
41000 Zagreb
Yugoslavia

63. Name : **Batuk Nath Shastri Khiste**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.; Sāhityāchārya.

Present Position : Retired Professor, Sankrit Literature, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi

Publications : Edited : Jātakamālā, Svapna-Vāsavadattam, Harṣacarita. Contributed articles to various Research Journals.

Present Address : 16/43, Patrakar Nagar, Varanasi–1

64. Name : **Arnold Kunst**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.; Ph. D.

Present Position : Retired from Lectureship in Indian Religions and Philosophy at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London; retired from visiting Lectureship in Sanskrit at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge (England), (also retired from Directorship of Trusteeship Department, United Nations, New York, U. S. A. in 1963).

Publications ; *Probleme der Buddhistischen Logik in der Darstellung des Tattvasaṅgraha,*

'An Overlooked Type of Inference' *BSOAS*, London, 1942.

'Stadislaw Schayer', *Losses in Polish Culture*, London, 1943; later re-edited for *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (*RO*), 1957; further re-edited for Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

'The Two-membered Syllogism', *RO*, Cracow, 1948.

Kamalaśīla's Commentary on Śāntarakṣita's Anumānaparīkṣā of the Tattvasaṅgraha, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques.

The Vigrahavyāvartanī of Nāgārjuna with the Author's Commentary (together with E. H. Johnston), Mél. Chinois et Bouddhiques.

'The Principle of Excluded Middle in Buddhist Philosophy', *RO*, Warsaw, 1957.

'The Function and Meaning of the Prasaṅga', *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses in München*, Munich, 1957.

'Somatism : A Basic Concept in India's Philosophical Speculations', *Philosophy East & West*, Honolulu, 1968.

'Some Notes on the Interpretation of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad', *BSOAS*, London, 1968.

Buddhist Studies in Honour of I. B. Horner, ed. together with L. Cousins and K. R. Norman, Dordrecht, 1974.

'Man—the Creator', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Dordrecht, 1976.

'Indeterminism versus Determinism : The Seventh Prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad', *JRAS*, London, 1976.

'Some Aspects of the Ekayāna', *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems, Studies in Honour of Edward Conze*, ed. Lewis Lancaster, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, University of California, Berkeley, 1977.

'Use and Misuse of Dharma', *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, ed. W. O'Flaherty and J. Duncan M. Derrett, Vikas & *SOAS*, London, 1978.

'Some of the Polemics in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra', *Buddhist*

Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula, ed. Somaratna Balasooriya et al., Gordon Fraser, London and Vimamsa, 1980.

The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna (Vigrahavyāvartanī), (together with E. H. Johnston), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978. N. B. This is the second edition of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī of Nāgārjuna with the Author's Commentary* with the addition of Kamaleswar Bhattacharya's translation of the text.

Other Distinctions : Vice-President of the Pali Text Society in London; Honorary Member of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London; former Member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, London; former Honorary Reviews Editor in the Royal Asiatic Society, London etc.

Present address : 85 York Mansions,
Prince of Wales Drive
London SW11 4BN
United Kingdom.

65. Name : **Hajime Nakamura**

Present Position : Professor Emeritus, University of Tokyo.
Director, The Eastern Institute, Inc., Tokyo

Publications : Companion to Contemporary Sanskrit (Motilal Banarsidass)
Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples (University Press of Hawaii)

Parallel Developments. A Comparative History of Ideas (Kodansha International, New York)
Gotama Buddha (Buddhist Books International, Los Angeles)

Other Distinctions : Honorary D. Litt. (University of Delhi)
Honorary Deśikottama (Visvabharati University)

Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and of Indian Council for Cultural Relations

Vidyāvāchaspati, awarded by the President of the Republic of India.

Formerly Visiting Professor at Harvard, Stanford and other American Universities.

Present Address : Meiko Building, Soto-kanda 2-12-4, Chikyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan

66. Name : **Harsh Narain**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Reader in Philosophy, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong—793014 (India)

Publications :

1. *Evolution of Dialectic in Western Thought.*
2. *Sirr-i Akbar sahita Upaniṣat-Samuccaya.*
3. *Evolution of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Categoriology*, Vol. 1.
4. *Discovery of Marx* (to be out shortly)

Over three scores of papers in English, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu, published in India and abroad.

Present Address : Reader in Philosophy,
North-Eastern Hill University
Mayurbhanj Palace
Shillong—793014
(Meghalaya)

67. Name : **Andre Padoux**

Academic Qualifications : Licencié en droit (B. L.) ; Diplomé d'études Politiques (B. Pol. sc.) ; Docteur ès. Lettres (D. Litt.), Paris, 1974.

Present Position : Maître de recherche au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Senior Research Fellow, French National Center for Scientific Research, Paris).

Publications : Recherches sur la Symbolique et l'énergie de la Parole dans certains textes tantriques.

La Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti de Abhinavagupta, texte traduit et annoté.

Several research papers in periodicals, on tantrism, Kashmir Śaivism, and mantraśāstra.

Present Address : 15, rue Séguier, 75006 Paris, France

68. Name : **Tomasz Rucinski**

Academic Qualifications : Ph. D.

Present Position : Lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy at Lublin Catholic University, Dept. of History of Philosophy Ancient and Medieval, Lublin, Al. Raclawickie 14

Publications : Mostly in Polish, for example the articles on Devasūri, Dharmapāla, Dharmottara in Encyklopedia Katolicka (Catholic Encyclopaedia), vol. III, Lublin 1979.

Present Address : 02 912 Warsaw, ul, Godebskiego 27 m. 1., Poland.

69. Name **Satyavrat Shastri***

70. Name : **Anantalal Thakur**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Kāvyatīrtha.

Present Position : Lecturer, Burdwan University, Burdwan, West Bengal; former Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna; former Professor, Mithila Institute of P. G. Teaching and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga and Vaisali Institute of Prakrit, Jainism and Ahiṃsā; former Visiting Professor, K. S. D. S. University, Darbhanga, Bihar.

Publications :

1. Nyāyacaturgranthikā (i. e. Nyāyabhāṣya-Vārttika-Tatparyaṭīkā and Tātparyapariśuddhi).
2. Nyāyavārttikatātparya-Vivaraṇapañjikā of Aniruddha,
3. Nyāyālaṃkāra of Abhayatilaka (In collaboration).
4. Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvalī.
5. Ratnakīrtnibandhāvalī.
6. Aśokanibandhau.
7. Madhyāntavibhāgakārikā with Bhāṣya (in collaboration).
8. Saugatasūtravyākhyānakārikā of Kumārila Svāmipāda.
9. Āgamaḍambaranāṭaka of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.
10. Pārijātāharaṇamahākāvya of Karṇapūra
11. Kāvyālakṣaṇaratnaśrī of Ratnaśrījñāna of Ceylon (in collaboration).
12. Pikadūta and Kīradūta of Rudranātha and Rāmagopāl.
13. Gaṅgavaṃśānucaritam of Vāsudeva.
14. Vaiśeṣikadarśana with a new Commentary.

+ For details see Section I, No. 6.

Other Distinctions : Presided over the Religion and Philosophy & Pāli, and Buddhism Sections of the All-India Oriental Conference at Ujjain and Dharwar Sessions respectively.

Present Address : C/o Panchugopal Bose.
Borehat, Kalitala
Burdwan, West Bengal—713 102

SECTION VI

HISTORY AND CULTURE

71. Name : **H. W. Bailey**

Academic Qualifications : D. Phil (Oxford).

Present Position : Emeritus Professor, Cambridge.

Publications :
1. Zoroastrian Problems.
2. Khotanese Buddhist Texts.
3. Khotanese Text I-VI.
4. Dictionary of Khotan Saba.

Numerous articles in Various Research Journals. *

Other Distinctions : Knighted 1960.

Hony. Doctor, West Australian University, Australian National University and the Universities of Oxford and Manchester.

Present Address : Queen's College, Cambridge.

72. Name : **C. D. Chatterjee**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.

Present Position : Retired Professor and Head, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University and the University of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur.

Publications : Published a number of papers and monographs on : (1) History of Ancient India, (2) Ancient Indian Epigraphy, (3) Ancient Indian Numismatics, (4) Forestry in Ancient India, (5) Totemism in Ancient India, (6) Sanskrit Literature,

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* For details see *BSOAS* 33, 1970 and *Acta Iranica* 20, 1979.

	(7) Pāli Literature, (8) Aramaic Language and script, (9) Philology of the Siṃhalese Language and, (10) Buddhist Philosophy (Theravada).
Other Distinctions :	Awarded Vidyasagar Prize and University Prize and Gold Medal.
	Ex-Editor, Journal of the U. P. Historical Society.
Present Address :	Ram Krishna Marga, Lucknow-22 6007.
73. Name :	**Lallanji Gopal**
Academic Qualifications :	M. A.. D. Phil. (Allahabad), Ph. D. (London).
Present Position :	Professor & Head, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University.
Publications :	1. Economic life of Northern India (c. A. D. 700-1200), 2. Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India, 3. The Sukraniti—a nineteenth century text. 4. Aspects of History of Agriculture in Ancient India, 5. Samudragupta, 6. Chandragupta Maurya, 7. Sanskrit aur Saṃskritiyān, 8. Bharatiya Sanskrit (joint author), 9. Studies in the History and Culture of Nepal (joint author), 10. D. D. Kosambi Commenoration Volume (Ed.), 11. Purāna-Viṣayānukramaṇī (Vidhi aur Āchāra), Part I (Ed.) and more than 200 articles.
Other Distinctions :	National Lecturer in History (1977-78); Chairman, Numismatic Society of India; President, Ancient India Section, Indian History Congress, 1974 session; General President, Panjab History Congress, 1977 session.
Present Address :	9, Gurudham Colony, Durga Kund Road, Varanasi-1.
74. Name :	**Amarendra Nath Lahiri**
Academic Qualifications :	M. A. (D. Litt.)
Present Position :	Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, both of the University of Calcutta,

Publications : *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* and *Comprehensive Index of the Epigraphia Indica,* Volumes I-XXXIV besides more than one hundred exhaustive research papers on various aspeects of Indian History and Culture, specially Numismatics, Epigraphy, Political history, Jainism and Vaishnava Art.

Other Distinctions : Presided over the 1972 Annual General Conference of the Numismatic Society of India. Awarded the Nelson Wright Bronze Medal by the Numismatic Society in 1966 for distinctive research work in the field of numismatics.

Present Address : Barendrapara, Rajpur P. O. (Via Calcutta), 743358;

75. Name : **Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., D. Litt. (Bombay), D. Litt. (Honoris Causa) (Sagar, Nagpur and Varanasi).

Present Position : Retired Professor, Nagpur University.

Publications : 11 English research works including three Volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (pub. by the Arch. Deptt. of the Govt. of India), six collections of research papers, and works on Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, 15 research works in Marathi, 6 in Hindi, one each in Oria and Kannada.

Other Distinctions : General President, All-India Oriental Conference and Indian History Congress; Fellow, Sahitya Akademi; Numismatic Society of India and Epigraphical Society of India; Hon. Correspondent, Arch. Survey of India; Hon. Member of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute etc.
Mahāmahopādhyāya, Padmabhushana.

Present Address : "Kamalasadan" near Jain Hotel, Dharampeth, Nagpur-440 010.

76. Name : **Tadeusz Pobozniak** *

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* For details see Section 1, No. 5,

77. Name : **Baij Nath Puri**

Academic Qualifications : B. A. (Hons.), M. A., LL. B., M. Litt. (Oxon), D. Phil (Oxon).

Present Position : Retired Professor and Head, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Lucknow University.

Publications :

1. India as described by early Greek writers
2. India in the time of Patañjali
3. History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas
4. India in Classical Greek writings
5. India under the Kushanas
6. Indian History-Review
7. History of Indian Administration, Vol. I
8. Early History and Administration in Assam
9. The Science of Archaeology (in Hindi)
10. Essentials of Indian Culture (in Hindi)
11. Indian History & Culture (in Hindi)
12. India and Cambodia (in Hindi)
13. Expansion of Indian Culture in South-East Asia (in Hindi)
14. Cities of Ancient India
15. A Study of Indian History
16. History of Indian Administration, Vol. II Vol. III (In the Press)
17. Ancient Indian States and Hindu Culture in South Asia (A series of 4 U. G. C. Lectures delivered at the University of Saugar in January 1969)
18. Kushana Bibliography (Indian National Commission, on behalf of UNESCO Publication 1977)
19. Sociol, Cultural and Economic History of India in collaboration with P. N. Chopra and M. N. Das
20. Ancient Indian Culture in Central Asia
21. Some Aspects of the Evolution of Indian Administration

Other Distinctions : President, Indian History Congress—Ancient India Section (Gauhati-1959).

President, Indian Oriental Congress (Greater India Section Aligarh-1966).

Invited by the UNESCO to the Consference in History and Civilization of Central Asia at Divshanbe (USSR-1968) and by the Akademy of Sciences (Hungary-1973).

Member, International Board of the UNESCO for the History of Civilization, Central Asia.

Invited by Universities in India and abroad for delivering lectures.

Present Address : B-58, Sector A,
Mahanagar, Lucknow-226 006.

78. Name : **K. S. Saxena**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Engaged in Post-Doctoral research.

Publications : Political History of Kashmir; Studies in the History of Kashmir. Contributed a number of articles in various reseach Journals.

Other Distinctions : Member of the Indian History Congress; U. P. Historical Society; Indian History and Culture Society and Epigraphical Society of India.

Present Address : 'Prem Kuti', Nala Fatehganj, Lucknow-226 004.

79. Name : **Dinesh Chandra Sircar**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D., Premchand Roychand Student (Calcutta University).

Present Position : Trustee, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Publications : Nearly 1200 papers and notes in various periodicals together with 30 books including 1. Select Inscriptions. 2. Indian Epigraphy. 3. The Guhilas of Kiṣkīndhā. 4. Indian Epigraphical Glossary. 5. Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India. 6. Cosmography and Geography in

	Early Indian Literature. 7. Studies in Indian Coins. 8. Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India. 9. Geography in Ancient and Medieval India. 10. Religious Life in Ancient and Medieval India. 11. Yuga-purāṇa and Other Texts. 12. Probems of Early Indian History and Culture. 13. Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies.
Other Distinctions :	Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India; Vidyāvāridhi (Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra); Honorary Fellow, Numismatic and Epigraphical Societies of India; Sir William Jones Medalist of Asiatic Society, Culcutta and Akbar Medalist, Numismatic Society of India; Visiting Professor of some Indian and foreign Universities.
Present Address :	645, O Block, New Alipore, Culcutta–700 053.

80. Name :	**R. Morton Smith**
Present Position :	Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto.
Publications :	Dates and Dynasties of Ancient India. A number of articles in various Journals.
Present Address :	Deptt. of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, University of Toronto 181, Canada.

81. Name :	**William L. Smith**
Academic Qualifications :	B. A. USA; fil. lic. degree University of Stockholm; fil dr degree University of Stockholm.
Present Position :	Engaged in a research project on medieval Rāmāyaṇa literature at the University of Stockholm.
Publications :	Articles in Indian and American Indological journals. A book on the Manasa Mangal
Present Address :	Bergshojden 34, 172 45 Sundbyberg, Sweden.

82. Name : **Vijay Kumar Thakur**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of History, Patna University.

Publications : More than 25 research articles published in various research journals.

Present Address : 6, Chajjubagh, Patna-800001.

83. Name : **Allen Wright Thrasher**

Academic Qualifications : B. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Assistant Professor of Sanskrit; Adjunct Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Washington. Seattle, Washington, U. S. A.

Publications : "Maṇḍana Miśra on the Indescribability of Avidyā," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, 21 (1977).
"Maṇḍana Miśra's Theory of Vikalpa," *WZKS*, 22 (1978).
"The Dates of Maṇḍana Miśra and Śaṅkara," *WZKS*, 23 (1979).

"Vivarta According to Maṇḍana Miśra," *WZKS*, 24 (1980).
Review-Article on M. Biardeau, *La Philosophie de Maṇḍana Miśra*, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 20 (3/4).

In Press : Article on *Brahma-Siddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra in *Advaita Vedānta* Volume of *Encyclopaedia of Indian* Philosophies.
Article on *Tattva-Bindu* of Vācapsati Miśra in *Philosophy of Language* Volume of *EIP*.

Other Distinctions : Spent 1978-79 on Fulbright-Office of Education Senior Research Fellowship working on *karma-vipāka* literature in Indian libraries.

Present Address : Deptt. of Asian Languages and Literature, DO-21, University of Washington, Seattle WA 98195, U. S. A.

SECTION VII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

84. Name : **Suresh Chandra Banerji**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Retd. Professor of Sanskrit and Secretary, Vaṅgīya Sanskrit Śikṣā Pariṣat, Govt. of West Bengal, Calcutta.

Publications :

1. Dharmasūtras—a Study etc.
2. *Kālidāsa-Kośa.*
3. A Companion to Sanskrit Literature.
4. Saduktikarṇāmṛta—Critical Edition.
5. Cultural Heritage of Kashmir.
6. A Companion to Middle-Indo-Aryan Literature.
7. Indian Society in the Mahābhārata.
8. Smṛti Material in the Mahābhārata.
9. Tantra in Bengal.
10. Sanskrit Beyond India.
11. Contribution of Bihar to Sanskrit Literature.
12. Flora and Fauna in Sanskrit Literature.
13. Crime and Sex in Ancient India.
14. Historical Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature.
15. Kṛṣi-parāśara—edited and translated.
16. Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita—Eng. translation.
17. A Glossary of Smṛti Literature.
18. An Introduction to Pāli Literature.

Many works published in Bengali. Research articles and reviews published in such journals as *IHQ.*, *ABORI*, *JOI* (Baroda), *JOGRI* (Allahabad), *Bhawan's Journal* (Bhāratīya

	Vidyā Bhavan), *Journal of Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute*, Madras, *Bulletin of R. K. Mission Institute of Culture*, etc.
Others Distinctions :	Awarded Rabindra Memorial Prize, 1963–64, by Govt. of West Bengal.
Present Address :	77 A, Golf Club Rd., Calcutta–33.
85. Name :	**(Mrs.) Francoise Mallison**
Academic Qualifications :	Archiviste Paléographe, Ph. D.
Present Position :	Fellow of the École Française d' Extréme-Orient (French Institute for Oriental Studies), Paris.
Publications :	'L'Epouse Idéale, la *Sati-Gitā* de Muktānanda'. (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, n. 35).
Present Address :	Les Montèzes, 30170 St. Hippolyte du Fort, France.
86. Name :	**Dieter Schlingloff**
Academic Qualifications :	Dr. Phil.
Present Position :	Head of Department of Indian and Iranian Studies of the University, Munich.
Publications :	Editions of Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia; Cultural studies in Indian art and archaeology; Indentifications of Ajanta paintings.
Present Address :	Institute für Indologie und Iranistik der Universität München Schellingstr. 33, 8000 München 40.
87. Name :	**C. S. Sundaram**
Academic Qualifications :	M. A., Ph. D., Diploma in German.
Present Position :	Lecturer & Associate Editor, New Catalogus Catalogorum, University of Madras.
Publications :	Associated with the Publication of New Catalogus Catalogorum Project of the Sanskrit Dept., University of Madras from 1951. Vols. I to X have been published. About dozen papers.
Present Address :	No. 2, N. S. Mudali Street, Mylapore, Madras–600 004.

88. Name : **Upendra Thakur**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., D. Phil.

Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, Bihar.

Publications :
1. History of Mithilā.
2. Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā.
3. History of Suicide in India.
4. Mints and Minting in India.
5. The Hūṇas in India.
6. Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture.
7. An Introduction to Homicide in Ancient India.
8. Corruption in Ancient India.

Over seventy research papers published in Indian and foreign journals of repute.

Other Distinctions :
1. General Secretary, Numismatic Society of India.
2. President, Sec. IV, Indian History Congress, 78.
3. Vice-President, Bihar Research Society, Patna.
6. Chief Editor, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
5. Visited Europe, Australia and South-East Asia to deliver lectures and to attend International Seminars.
4. Awarded Akbar Silver Medal for outstanding contributions to numismatic studies.

Present Address : Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies, Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya, Bihar.

89. Name : **(Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan (Malik)**

Academic Qualifications : B. A. (Hons.), M. A. (Delhi) ; M. A. (Michigan), Ph. D.

Present Position : Joint Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education and Culture, New Delhi.

Publications ; Author of several monographs, including classical Indian

Dance in Literature and the Arts; Some Aspects of Cultural Policies in India; Indian Classical Dance Traditions; Rāmāyaṇa in the Arts of Asia; Traditions of Indian Folk Dance.

Other Distinctions : Member-Secretary, Indian delegation to the General Conference of UNESCO 1972–74; Life member, Kuppuswami Research Inst.; Elected Fellow of Sangeet Natak Akademi, 71, and Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fellowship, 75.

Present Address : 23/D1 Satya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi.

SECTION VIII

LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY

90. Name : **Thomas Burrow**

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Retired Professor of Sanskrit, University of Oxford.

Publications : (1) The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī; (2) Documents from Chinese Turkestan; (3) The Paiji Language; (4) The Sanskrit Language; (5) Dravidian Etymological Dictionary; (6) The Problem of Shiva in Sanskrit.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Asstt. Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

2. Fellow of British Academy.

Present Address : 1, Woodlands, Kidlington, Oxford.

91. (a) Name : **(Mrs.) Mariangela D'Onza Chiodo**

Academic Qualifications : Laurea in Lettere classiche.

Present Position : Professor of Pāli Language at the University of Turin.

Publications : *A proposito del bhaṇḍāgārika nella letteratura buddhistica*, Torino,

L'organizzazione commerciale e mercantile nei Jātaka, in "*Vidyā*". 32-33, 1974, pp. 1-24.

Voce : Inde-Diritto, in "Grande Enciclopedia De Agostini", vol. X.

Alessandro Magno e l'Oriente, Firenze, D'Anna, 1977, pp. 1-208 (in joint authorship with Prof. Panattoni).

Pāli aṭṭa: ipotesi di un'influenza dravidica su una controversa etimologia, in "*Indologica Taurinensia*", V, 1977, pp. 69-84. (in joint authorship with Prof. Panattoni).

Kuṭṭa-rājan and allied terms: a set of Dravidian loan-words in Pāli, in the press in n. VII of "*Indologica Taurinensia*" (in joint authorship with Prof. Panattoni).

Other Distinctions : Member of the Editorial Board of the Periodical "*Indologica Taurinensia*".

Present Address : via De Canal 44, 10137 Torino, Italy.

91. (b) Name : **(Miss) Emanuela Panattoni**

Academic Qualifications : Laurea in Lettere classiche.

Present Position : Professor of Dravidian Languages at the University of Pisa.

Publications : *Temi e motivi della poesia di G. Śankara Kuṛuppu*, in "Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino", 106, 1971-72, pp. 539-588.

Due racconti di Pankunuam Varkki e la novellistica malayālam moderna, in "Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli", 35, 1975, pp. 215-232.

IlMalabar nelle "Lettere sulle Indie Orientali" di Lazzaro Papi, in "*Indologica Taurinensia*", II, 1974, pp. 199-233.

Viaggiatori italiani in India, Torino, S. I. O. I, 1976.

On some poems of Kumāran Āśān : a critical appraisal, "The First world Conference on Malayalam and Kerala Culture, Trivandrum 1977.

The Same Publications listed above in joint authorship with Prof. D'Onza Chiodo.

Other Distinctions : Member of the Editorial Board of the Periodical "*Indologica Taurinensia*".

Present Adddress : via S. Quintino 4, 10121 Torino, Italy.

92. Name : **Oskar von Hinueber**

Academic Qualifications : Dr. Phil.

Present Position : Professor of Indology.

Publications : Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-Piṭaka. München 1968. Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften. (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Götttingen. I. Phil.—Hist. Kl. Jg 1979 No. 12). A new fragmentary Manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* Tokyo 1979. Numerous aticles mainly on historical grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Pāli lexicography, cultural history and ancient technology in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Kuhns Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Studien zur Indology und Iranistik etc.

Present Address : 65 Mainz, den Postfach 3980, F R G.

93. Name : **Yudhishthira Mimamsaka**

Present Position : Retired.

Publications : 1. संस्कृत-व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास (तीन भागों में); 2. वैदिक-स्वर-मीमांसा; 3. वैदिक-छन्दोमीमांसा; 4. ऋषि दयानन्द के ग्रन्थों का इतिहास; 5. ऋग्वेद की ऋक्संख्या (हिन्दी तथा संस्कृत); 6. वैदिक सिद्धान्त-मीमांसा; 7. महाभाष्य—हिन्दी-व्याख्या; 8. मीमांसा-शाबर-भाष्य-हिन्दी-व्याख्या—(तीन भागों में); 9. निरुक्त-समुच्चयः; 10. भागवृत्ति-संकलनम्; 11. शिक्षा-सूत्राणि; 12. दैवम्-पुरुषकारोपेतम् 13. काशकृत्स्न-धातुव्याख्यानम्; 14. काशकृत्स्न-व्याकरण; 15. माध्यन्दिन-पदपाठ; 16. उणादिकोष; 17. ऋग्वेद-भाष्यम्—(तीन भागों में) 18. सत्यार्थप्रकाश; 19. संस्कारविधि; 20. दयानन्दीय-लघुग्रन्थ-संग्रह।

More than 30 articles in various Journals.

Other Distinctions : Awarded prizes on his several books by various State Governments.

Awarded Certificate of Merit by the President of India in 1977.

Honoured by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Awarded a Special Prize by the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

Present Address : Ram Lal Kapoor Trust, Bahalgarh, Distt. Sonipat (Haryana).

94. Name : **Juan M. De Mora** *

95. Name : **Edgar Charles Polome**

Academic Qualifications : Ph. D.

Present Position : Professor of Linguistics and Oriental and African Languages and Literatures, University of Texas at Austin.

Publications ; Publications (relevant to South Asia) :

'Approaches to the Study of Vedic Religion'. In Paul J. Hopper (ed.), *Studies in Descriptive and Historical Linguistics. Festschrift for W. P. Lehmann* (Amsterdam : Benjamins 1977), 405-415.

'Linguistic Borrowing'—In Herman Van Olphen (ed.), *Working papers, 1974 Conference of American Council of Teachers of Un-Commonly Taught Asian Languages* (Austin, Center for Asian Studies, 1975), 2-14.

Editorship :

Proceedings of the 1974/1975/1976/1977 Annual Meeting of the Southwest Conference on Asian Studies (Austin, 1975-1978, 4 volumes).

(with A. Jazayery and W. Winter), *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill* (The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton, 1978; 4 volumes).

(with A. Sjoberg and H. van Olphen), *Proceedings of the Conference on Language Testing and Levels of Proficiency in South Asian Languages* (Austin, 1976).

Co-Editor (Linguistics and Religion) of the *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, since 1974.

Other Distinctions ; Linguistics Adviser to seminar new mathematics in Entebbe, Uganda.

Leture tour, India, Taiwan and Japan.

Fulbright Professor at the University of Kiel, Germany.

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* For details see Section 1, No. 3.

Visiting Research Professor at the University of Dar es Salam.

Ford Foundation and Government of Kenya Consultant, Linguistics Department, University of Nairobi, Kenya.

Consultant for Language Programmes in India, D. C. American Institute of Indian Studies.

Actively associated with 12 Academic Associations of the world.

Participated in 17 International Congresses, 6 International Seminars and 3 Indo-European Confcrences.

Present Address : P. O. Box 8058, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712, U. S. A.

96. Name : **Shyam Prakash**

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sans.; Hindi; Linguistics); Ph.D., D. Litt.

Present Position : Lecturer, K. M. Institute of Hindi Studies and Linguistics, Agra University, Agra.

Present Address : 14, Gopal Kunj, Bagh Muzaffar Khan, Agra-282 002.

Publications :

1. दिव्यावदान में संस्कृति का स्वरूप
2. भारतीय कला एवं संस्कृति
3. हिन्दू संस्कृति के मूलतत्त्व
4. भाषा-शिक्षण (In the Press)

97. Name : **Sheo Shankar Prasad**

Academic Qualifications : M.A , Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Bihar, Muzaffarpur.

Publications :

1. 35 Research papers read in the different sections of the All India Oriental Conference and All India Conference of Linguists.
2. Hindi translation of Woolner's An Introduction to Prakrit (In the Press).

3. Hindi translation of F. Edgertor's Sanskrit Historical Phonology (In the press).
4. Studies in the literary aspects of the *Bhāgavata* (Thesis for Ph.D. Degree).
5. श्रीमद्भागवत के ध्वन्यात्मक और व्याकरणिक वैशिष्ट्य (पाण्डुलिपि के रूप में)

Other Distinctions : F. R. A. S. (London).
Member, All India Conference of Linguists.
Life member, All India Oriental Conference.

Present Address ; Near Durgamandir, Kishore Narayan Road, Muzaffarpur (Bihar).

SECTION IX

MISCELLANEA

98. Name : **M. Biardeau**

Academic Qualifications : Doctorat ès-lettres, Paris.

Present Position : Professor, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris,

Publications : Mostly in French, and too numerous to be listed. One book on brahmanical theory of knowledge, one translation of ***Vākyapadīya's** Brahmakāṇḍa*, one book on Maṇḍana Miśra's philosophy. More recently, one general introduction to Hinduism called : *Clefs pour la pensée hindoue* and a series of articles entitled "Etudes de mythologie hindoue published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême*— Orient (5 parts published to date).

Present Address : 67 rue Raymond Losserand, 75014 Paris, France.

99. Name : **Ronald Eric Emmerick**

Academic Qualifications : B. A. (Sydney), M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab.).

Present Position : Prof. of Iranian Philology, University of Hamburg.

Publications :

1. Tibetan texts concerning Khotan.
2. Saka grammatical studies.
3. The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism.
4. The Sūtra of golden light, being a translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*.
5. The Khotanese *Śūraṅgamasmādhisūtra*,

6. Saka Documents V (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II, Vol. V, Portfolio V).
7. Saka Documents VI (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II, Vol. V, Portfolio V).
8. The *Siddhasāra* of Ravigupta, vol. 1 : The Sanskrit text (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, ed. W. Voigt, Supplementband 23.I) F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Numerous articles in learned journals such as *BSOAS*, *Asia Major*, *JRAS*, *TPS* and in Festschriften.

Present Address : Waidmannsring 7,
2085 Quickborn,
F. R. G.

100. Name : **David Pingree**

Academic Qualifications : AB, Ph. D., (both in Classics and Sanskrit).

Present Position : Professor of the History of Mathematics in Brown University.

Publications : *The Thousands of Abū Ma'shar.*

Albumasaris De revolutionibus nativitatum.

Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in the United States.

The Vidvajjanavallabhā of Bhojarāja.

Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit, Serics A, vols. 1–3, (vol. 4 in press).

The Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (with O. Neigebaier), 2 vols.,

The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh (with E. S. Kennedy).

The Bṛhadyātrā of Varāhamihira.

Hephaestionis Theban, Apotelesmaticorium I, Libri tres, 2 vols.

Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in England.

The Venus Tablet of Amisaduga (with E. Reiner).

Śrīdhara's Laghukhecarasiddhi.

The Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja, 2 vols,

	Dorothe, Sidonii Carmen Astrologicum.
	The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja, 2 vols.
Other Distinctions :	Member, American Philosophical Society; Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Abhinavavarāhamihira (title granted by Akhila BhāratiyaVarāhamihira Smāraka Samāroha Samiti, 1979).
Present Address :	Box 1900, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 02912, USA.

101. Name :	**Igor D. Serebryakov**
Academic Qualifications :	D. Litt.
Present Position :	Senior Research Scholar, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, USSR.
Publications :	In Russian—Ancient Indian Literature; Punjabi Literature; Sketches of Ancient Indian Literature; Literary process in India (VII-XIII centuries) Panjabi-Russian Dictionary in English–Punjabi Literature; Sketches in Panjabi–Panjabi sahitt; Translated into Russian–Kalidasa. Raghuvaṁśa (Canto 1); Vetālapañcaviṃśati; Bharatakadvatriṃsati; Haribhadra. Dhūrtākhyāna; Kathāsaritsāgara I, V; VI–X; XII–XV; XVII–XVIII (in the press); Bakhtavar. Sunesar; Bhartrihaṛi. Śatakatrayam. Contributed articles to various research Journals.
Other Distinctions :	Nehru Laureate 1970-71 (for works on Indian Literature and articles on India).
Present Address :	Igor D. Serebryakov 25 Veshnyakovskaya flat I, III 538 Moscow, USSR.

ADDENDA

SECTION I

REMINISCENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

102. Name : **Gopal Chandra Sinha**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.; LL. B.

Present Position : Retired District and Sessions Judge.

Publications : 10 books in collaboration.
Number of articles in various Research Journals.
Associated with all the Publications of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow (India).

Other Distinctions : Member, Official Language (Legislative) Commission, Govt. of India.
Member, Language Expert Conference of the Constituent Assembly of India.
Member, American Oriental Society.
Life Member Asiatic Society, Bombay.
Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Some time Member of the Executive Committee of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha and Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad.
Secretary of the Governing Body of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad.
Member, Sanskrit Education Advisory Committee, U.P. Govt.
Member, Expert Committee on Legal Terms under the Board of Scientific and Technical Terminology, Govt. of India.
Member, Nagari script Reform Committee, Govt. of U. P.
Founder-Secretary, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Present Address : B 989, Sector A,
Mahanagar, Lucknow–226 006.

103. Name : **J. P. Sinha** *

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* *For details see Section I, No. 7.*

SECTION II

VEDIC STUDIES

104. Name : **(Rev.) Adolf Esteller, S. J.**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Dr. Phil. (Berlin).

Present Position : Professor Emeritus for Sanskrit, Heras Institute of St. Xavier's Collage, Bombay.

Publications :

1. Die älteste Rezension des Mahānāṭakam-Abhandlungen der D. M. G. XXI, 7, Leipzig (A text-critical Study).
2. Numerous monographs on the Ṛgveda text-criticism.
3. Several articles in various Research Journals.

Other Distinctions :

1. Retired Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, St. Xavier's Collage, Bombay.
2. Retired Research Guide of the University of Bombay.
3. Ex-President, Vedic Section, All-India Oriental Conference
4. Expert-Delegate of UNESCO for S. America (Buenos Aires and Uruguay).

Present Address : St. Xavier's College, Bombay–400 001.

SECTION IV

LITERATURE

105. Name : **Satya Dev Choudhary**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., (Sanskrit & Hindi); Shastri; Ph. D.

Present Position : Reader, Hindi Deptt., University of Delhi, Delhi.

Publications :

1. हिन्दी रीति-परम्परा के प्रमुख आचार्य
2. भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र
3. भारतीय शैली विज्ञान
4. काव्यशास्त्र के परिदृश्य
5. Essays on Indian Poetics
6. रुद्रट-प्रणीत काव्यालंकार (हिन्दी-भाष्य)
7. शैली विज्ञान और भारतीय काव्यशास्त्र

Many other books.

Other Distinctions : Awarded seven All India prizes from Panjab and U.P. Govt. and Dalmia Puraskar Samiti.

Present Address : F-11/12 Model Town, Delhi-110 009.

106. Name : **Ashok Kumar Kalia**

Academic Qualifications : B. A. (Hons.), M. A., Ph. D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Deptt. of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, Lucknow University.

Publications :

1. Lakṣmītantra—Dharma aur Darśana.
2. Sudhā-bhojanam (A Sanskrit play).

3. Editor-in-charge : 'AJASRĀ' a Sanskrit Quarterly published by the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parihsad, Lucknow.

Present Address : C—12, Vivekanandpuri, Lucknow-226 007.

107. Name : **Erik Paul Maten**

Academic Qualifications : Doctor.

Present Position : Holding research-post in the University of Utrecht.

Publications : Budhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha, a literary study of an ancient Indian narrative. Several articles on Sanskrit narrative literature.

Forthcoming : Sanskrit Narrative Literature (a volume of History of Indian literature, edited by Prof. J. Gonda).

Present Address : Dommeringdreef 195, 3562 AP Utrecht, The Netherlands.

108. Name : **(Mrs.) Priti Sinha**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.; D. Phil.

Publications : Karuṇa Rasa : Theory and Practice with special reference to the Mahākāvyas upto Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacaritam.
Several articles in Journals and Sanskrit Magazines.

Other Distinctions : Winner of various prizes and awards and recipient of several Gold Medals.

Present Address : C/o. Dr. Krichnanand Sinha, C 954-955, Mahanagar, Luknow-226 006.

SECTION V

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

109. Name : **Gaya Charan Tripathi**

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph. D., Dr. Phil. (Albert Ludwig University, Freiburg).

Present Position : Principal,
G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
M. L. Nehru Park, Allahabad–2

Publications :

1. Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Vāmana-Legende in der indischen Literatur.
2. प्रचीनभारत की कला ।
3. The Cult of Jagannātha and the regional Tradition of Orissa (edited with Eschmann & Kulke).
4. वैदिक देवता : उद्भव और विकास ।
5. Ritual of Founding a Brahmin Village.
6. The Rite of daily worship in a Hindu–Temple.

Other Distinctions : Elected Member of the Executive Committee of the All India Oriental Conference at its XXX Session held at Shantiniketan.

Present Address : 36, Jawahar Lal Nehru Road,
Allahabad–2.

SECTION VII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

110. Name : **Braj Basi Lal**

Academic Qualifications : M. A.

Present Position : Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

Publications :
1. Indian Archaeology since Independence.
2. Excavation-reports and research papers numbering over a hundred published in Indian and foreign research Journals.

Other Distinctions :
1. Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.
2. Chairman, Indian Archaeological Society.
3. Alexander White Visiting Prfessor, University of Chicago.
4. Awarded S. C. Chakravarti medal by Asiatic Society, Bangal.
5. Conferred *honoris causa* degree of Vidya-Varidhi (D. Litt.) by Nava Nalanda Mahavihara.

Present Address : Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

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CORRIGENDA

The article entitled "A Note on Holiness allowed to Women : Pativratā and Satī" by (Mrs.) F. Mallison included under Section VII at S. N. 85 should have been put under Section VI at S. N. 75. The oversight is regretted—Editor.

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	2	Vol. II न	Vol. II न-य
	3	Vol. III म-ह	Vol. III य-ह
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		Nagarjuna	Nāgārjuna
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813	5	*sāsapa*	*sāsapā*
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* **A note to be added : Prof. M. D'Onza Chiodo is to be held responsible for pp. 811-814 and Prof. E. Panattoni for pp. 814-818.**